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Hāla's *Sattasaī* as a source of pseudo-Deśī words*

Contents

I Introduction
II The textual tradition of the *Sattasaī*
III Words misunderstood
§§ 1. *ṇivvara-*, 2. *ṇaḍa-*, 3. *ḍuṇḍua-*, 4. *hālāhala-*, 5. *karaṃja-*, 6. *tuppa-*, 7. *haṇa-*, 8. *saccavia-*, 9. *karamarī-* with a note on *sari-* in Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit.
IV Corruptions
§§ 10. *phasala-*, 11. *vilia-*, 12. *pahalla-*, *payalla-*, 13. *riddha-*, 14. *dilliṃdiliā-*, 15. *uppaṃka-*, 16. *iharā*.
V Concluding remarks
VI Abbreviations and bibliography
VII Charts I and II — References of gāthās discussed

I INTRODUCTION

The Prakrit grammar by Hemacandra, that same scholar's *Deśīnāmamālā*, a dictionary of Deśī, or 'regional' words, as well as *Pāiyalacchī*, a Prakrit dictionary by Dhanapāla, have long played an important role in the interpretation of the many obscure passages in the *Sattasaī*. This latter text, a 'collection of 700' Māhārāṣṭrī (M) Prakrit gāthās, abounds in rare words, for which one or more of the above-mentioned three treatises are our only external sources and for which these, often in conjunction with the Skt commentaries to the *Sattasaī*, provide what in the particular contexts seem plausible meanings. However, we should be wary of the fact that both Hemacandra (1088-1172) and Dhanapāla (tenth century) caught the *Sattasaī* only in a relatively late stage of its transmission, in which this text was not free from corruptions and misunderstandings. Both scholars in their attempts at codification only reflect the text and its interpretation current in their times. Therefore their material should be treated very cautiously.

* I am grateful to the late Dr. L. van Daalen for his comments on an earlier version of this article.

In order to illustrate this point I will discuss below a number of words from Hemacandra's grammar (*Hc.*), *Deśīnāmamālā* (*Deśīn.*) and *Pāiyalacchī* (*Pāiyal.*). It concerns so-called typical Prakrit, or Deśī words, that is, words which could not be derived in a regular way from Sanskrit or which had meanings which could not be traced back to their supposed Skt sources. A majority of the words are hapax legomena otherwise found only in the *Sattasaī*. On closer consideration of the passages concerned in this text it will appear, however, that in all these cases we have to do with textual corruptions or with misunderstandings, or a combination of both, and that the meanings assigned to the words in question go back directly to the particular contexts in the *Sattasaī*.

As already indicated, the words investigated are rare. A majority are hapax legomena known only from the *Sattasaī*. Exceptionally, the same word with the same meaning, which as far as the *Sattasaī* is concerned is ad hoc and contextual, is found in later texts as well. The word has acquired, so to say, a second life. In many of these cases the later attestation of the word is to be traced back to the grammar or to the dictionaries, for instance when the word is found in Hemacandra's own *Kumārapāla-carita*, which was specifically composed to serve as a show case of the rules of his grammar. It is likewise doubtful if those instances of a word reported from the Jaina Caritas and Purāṇas, which are virtually contemporary to Dhanapāla and Hemacandra, do furnish independent evidence of its existence.

In several instances, however, the situation is more complicated. Cases in point are the words *uppaṇṇa-* and *iharā*, which as far as their occurrence in the *Sattasaī* is concerned can be explained as textual corruptions, but which are also found in Vākpati's *Gauḍavaho*. The latter text has been dated in the eighth century (see Daalen 1986), that is, well before Dhanapāla and Hemacandra, who furnish our earliest evidence of the existence of these two corruptions. As a way out of this dilemma I can offer only some speculations. It should be noted, for instance, that Hemacandra's grammar and dictionary are compilations, presupposing earlier comparable works. Below some evidence of Hemacandra at work as a compiler, combining different interpretations of the same word, will be discussed (see, e.g., §§ 1 and 2 on *ṇivvara-* and *ṇaḍa-* respectively). Incidentally, nothing definite can be said in this respect regarding the *Pāiyal.* In the second place, it might be argued that a text like *Gauḍavaho* — and likewise the *Setubandha* — i.e. an epic Kāvya in M Pkt, which dialect has its origin in the lyrical genre[1], must presuppose the existence of a (rudimentary) scholastic tradition concerning this dialect, for which the *Sattasaī* must have been the starting-point.

1. See Tieken (1983: 152-3), where an argument is developed in favour of the origin of M Pkt as a literary dialect from the lyrical gāthā literature as found in the *Sattasaī*; see also Nitti-Dolci (1938: 42ff.).

A third case concerns the word *karamarī-*, which is also found in Pāli, in early Vinaya as well as in (later) Jātaka prose. The meaning of the word in the later Jātaka prose instances is identical to the one it has acquired secondarily in the *Sattasaī* and with which it has been entered into the dictionaries. It is unlikely, however, that there was any connection between the continental Pkt tradition, on the one hand, and the Ceylonese Pāli tradition, on the other. More likely, therefore, we have here to do with two independent developments with, not entirely by coincidence, the same outcome.

II THE TEXTUAL TRADITION OF THE *SATTASAĪ*

Below, frequent references will be made to the variant readings in the mss of the *Sattasaī*[2]. Lacking a definitive edition of this text, the variants have to be gathered from the various publications, which, to make matters worse, precisely for this purpose cannot be used without making complicated conversions. Thus, in the first edition of the complete text, Weber's *Ed.* (1881), the readings, translations and extracts from the commentaries given in the preceding publications, *Abh.* (1870) and *Retr.* (1874), have not been repeated. Moreover, the variants presented in *Retr.* cannot be simply compared to the *Ed.*, but have to be 'translated' with reference to the *Abh.* For instance, when in *Retr.* nothing has been mentioned concerning a particular ms this means that it agrees with *Abh.*, which latter text, however, may subsequently have been cancelled by the text in *Ed.* It may therefore occur that below I refer to a variant reading on the text of *Ed.* which has not been explicitly noted anywhere. Weber's final publication on the *Sattasaī*, his *ISt.* (1883), refers back directly to the *Ed.* of 1881. In the present article the variants, extracts from the commentaries and Weber's own comments are quoted with reference to the gāthā-number from Weber's *Ed.*

To this may be added the material collected by myself in *Hāla's Sattasaī. Stemma and Edition (Gāthās 1-50), with Translation and Notes* (1983). In preparing this study I had filmed a great number of mss from all over India mainly in order to identify possible other recensions besides the ones already available to Weber. To these indeed at least one more could be added, styled the 'Third South Indian Recension', as it had been preserved exclusively in South India. It is represented by three mss, namely Ma, Ti and Tp. This recension proved to be an early off-shoot, going back to

2. The references to the variants are in principle restricted to the particular word under consideration. The question whether, in the discussion of the word *ṇaḍa-* (§ 2), gāthā 77 should read *sāṇasaeṇa vva* or *-eṇe vva* (with ψ; see Tieken 1983: 224-6) or, in the discussion of the word *karamarī-* (§ 9), gāthā 54 should read *pusiāi* or *phusiāi* (it should be *ph-*, *p-* showing the influence of the gloss *pronch-*) is not dealt with in this article.

the same source as the North Indian Jaina recension and the Vulgata. As a result some sort of controlled reconstruction of a more or less original text has become possible. The text of the Third South Indian recension, which is often followed by Weber's First Telinga, is in many respects more authentic than that of all the other branches, so that its readings naturally play an important role in the investigations which follow. For an overview of the mss and their relationship, see Chart I.

In quotations from Ma and Ti and from the commentary by Mādhuvayajvamiśra contained in these mss, the page numbers of these transcripts are given. At the time I excerpted the variants from Tp, a palm-leaf ms, on a separate sheet of paper for each gāthā, unfortunately I did not also note down the numbers of the leaves. References to Tp are therefore to the gāthā-numbers of the Third South Indian recension found in Tieken (1983: Appendix I).

Finally a word on the commentaries. The commentaries on the *Sattasaī* show, generally speaking, the same misunderstandings and solutions as the dictionaries and the grammar mentioned. It should be noted that none of the commentaries on the *Sattasaī* is demonstrably older than Dhanapāla or Hemacandra, so that for all we know they may have been completely dependent on the works of the latter two scholars. Therefore, wherever a commentary is quoted below this is mainly done because they have been the basis for the available translations.

The words discussed in this article have been divided into two broad categories. The first category (§§ 1-9) consists of 'regular' words, the second (§§ 10-16) of 'corruptions'. In the first category of words the point at issue is (the cause of) their misunderstanding. As to the second category of words, the main point of discussion is their nature as corruptions.

III Words misunderstood

§ 1 *ṇivvara-*

In IV 3 of his grammar Hemacandra mentions a verb *ṇivvara-* as a substitute for *kathay-*. It would have the specialized meaning 'to speak about one's grief' (*duḥkhe ṇivvaraḥ*). (Cp. *Hc.* IV 92 where a word *ṇivvala-* is mentioned, as a substitute (ādeśa) of *duḥkhaṃ muc-*. We clearly have to do here with the same word as in IV 3, the interchange of *l* and *r* being well attested. On the word *ṇivvara-* found in IV 124 among the ādeśas of *chul-*, see below.) The specialized meaning, which had no one-word equivalent in Skt but required paraphrasis, seems to carry with it elements of the particular context, or contexts, in which Hemacandra had found the word. In this connection it should be noted that, apart from one instance in Hemacandra's own *Kumārapālacarita* (*PSM*, pp. 410-1, s.v.), which can be ignored here, the word is at present known only from the *Sattasaī*, gāthās 204 and 255. As I will try to show, these two instances suffice to account for the state of affairs in Hemacandra's grammar.

While the commentaries on the *Sattasaī* generally produce a meaning similar to the one given in *Hc.* (e.g. ad 204 *ṇivvaraṇa(ṃ) duḥkhanir*(sic)*vedane* χ, and *ṇivvariyaṃ svaduḥkhāviṣkaraṇam* Bhuvanapāla), a closer look at the form of the word and at the variants found in the South Indian mss would suggest an altogether different meaning. Thus, for *ṇivvarijjae* in 204 the South Indian mss T, Ma (p. 86) and Tp read *ṇivvuijjae* (gāthā missing in Ti, which starts only with 197), and for *(a)ṇivvaraṇam/ṃ* in 255 T reads *(a)ṇiuuiaṃm/ṃ* (*[a]nirvṛt[t]idaṃ*) (cp. Ti (p. 210) and Tp: *ṇivvuiam* in pāda c. Pāda d reads *jaṃ ca aṇivvattiam* (Ti) and *jaṃ ca aṇivvattiaṃ ca ṇivvuie* (Tp)). *Ṇivvuijjae* has apparently been based on *ṇivvua-* = *nirvṛta-*, 'tranquil, at rest', which shows that *ṇivvara-* was taken to be derived from Skt **nirvṛ-* as found in *nirvṛta-* and *nirvṛti-*. As such *ṇivvara-*, from *nirvṛ-* (cp. Turner, *CDIAL* 7392(§ 1)), may be compared to *uvvara-*, 'to overflow', from **udvṛ-* (gāthās 395: *ajjāi ṇilakaṃcua-bhari-uvvariaṃ vihāi thaṇavaṭṭaṃ*[3], and 474: *ke uvvariā*). *Udvṛ-* may be found in Skt in *Arthaśāstra* [ed. Kangle] 1,16,1: *udvṛtamantro* (v.l. *uddhṛta-*) *dūtapraṇidhiḥ*, 'Messengers are sent out, by which the result of the consultation is made known and spread' (contra Kangle: 'When consultation has led to a choice of decision, the employment of envoys should follow'). Accordingly, *ṇivvara-* may be translated as 'to come to rest, to become tranquil or satisfied'. Gāthā 204, which reads:

> *phuṭṭaṃteṇa vi hiaeṇa māmi kaha ṇivvarijjae tammi*
> *addāe paḍiviṃva vva jammi dukkhaṃ ṇa saṃkamai,*

may be translated as follows:

> Even if my heart would burst (giving full rein to its grief), aunt, how will it ever come to rest with a man like this, on whom grief does not make any impression, like a reflection (which does not make an impression) on a mirror?;

3. The same combination, *bhariuvvara-*, is also found in Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* IV 1, 24 (p. 85): *jadhā hiaantarabhariduvvarantavinhaāṇandasundaraṃ*, and VII 1, 20 (p. 153): *bharid-'uvvarantakodūhalukkaṇṭhāmaṇorahaṃ*. For *uvvara-* in the *MM*, see also VI 19, 10 (p. 135): *saṃpadaṃ khu amhe ettha uvvarāmo*, and VII 0, 75 (p. 147): *takkhaṇuvvariagambhīrāveavaiaravāridaṃ*.

For other coincidences in the vocabulary between the *MM* and the *Sattasaī*, see below, note 8 (*oruṇṇa-*, despite Skt *avarudita-* probably a ghost-word the origin of which may be traced back to the *Sattasaī*) and note 12 (*utpakva-*). In this connection also *bituṇāveḍha-* may be noted, found in *MM* VIII 4, 4 (p. 166) and *Sattasaī* 289 and 504, and *pairikka-*, found in *MM* VIII 8, 33 (p. 179; and note on p. 267) and *Sattasaī* 88.

gāthā 255:

> *lahuaṃti lahuṃ purisaṃ pavvaamettaṃ pi do vi kajjāiṃ*
> *ṇivvaraṇam aṇivvuḍhe ṇivvūḍhe jaṃ aṇivvaraṇaṃ,*

may be translated as follows:

> Two things diminish a man quickly, even if he is as big as a mountain: being satisfied when the task is not yet finished and going on when the task is finished.

Above it has been maintained that the variants in the South Indian mss have somehow preserved the original meaning of the word *ṇivvara-*. However, the fact that in these mss *ṇivvara-* has been replaced by a (relatively) more transparent word would show that its derivation was no longer clear. As shown by Hemacandra's grammar the word has subsequently been subjected to speculation as to its meaning as well, with, as I will try to make clear, different results for gāthā 204 and 255 respectively.

Thus, in *Hc.* IV 3 (*duḥkhe ṇivvaraḥ*) may be recognized the outcome of an attempt to make sense of the word as it was found in gāthā 204. In the process of a re-interpretation of its derivation (from *nir-vṛ-*, 'to *un*cover'? Compare Weber: 'aufdecken', 'wie kann mein Herz, ob es auch bricht, sich ihm entdecken?') certain elements of the context came to be ascribed to *ṇivvara-*: 'telling' from *phuṭṭaṃteṇa vi hiaeṇa*, 'even if my heart would burst (and give full rein to its grief)', and 'grief' from the last pāda: *jaṃmi dukkhaṃ ṇa saṃkamai*. This is also the interpretation found in the available commentaries (see above). The interpretation is generally accepted by most editors and translators. To quote the most recent translation by Patwardhan: 'Oh my friend, even though my heart is bursting (with lovelonging), how can I reveal that (i.e. my suffering) to that person in whom the sorrow (of others) does not enter ...?' (gāthā 149). It should be noted that the meaning attributed here to *ṇivvara-* is almost tautological after the phrase *phuṭṭaṃteṇa vi hiaeṇa*!

While in the commentaries this meaning of *ṇivvara-* has subsequently been extended to gāthā 255 as well (e.g. Bhuvanapāla: *dve kārye puruṣaṃ laghu śīghraṃ laghayataḥ, duḥkhanivedanaṃ yat anivv*(sic)*ūḍhe abharasahe*(?) *puṃsi, nirvyūḍhe ya(d) duḥkhānivedanaṃ*), it will be clear that this gāthā cannot have had anything to do with the origin of the meaning. Instead, gāthā 255 would seem to have given rise to an interpretation of its own, which has been preserved in *Hc.* IV 124 where *ṇivvara-* is mentioned as a synonym of *chid-*. It should be noted that so far no instances of *ṇivvara-*, '*chid-*', are known, except the one instance in Hemacandra's own *Kumārapālacarita* (see *PSM*, p. 411, s.v.), which may be ignored here. However, the identification of a possible instance entirely depends on the meaning attributed to *chid-* here. Thus, starting from a meaning 'to stop', 'to break up' or 'to interrupt', one could seriously consider gāthā 255 as a possible source for Hemacandra. Its second hemistich may have been interpreted in the following way:

> Breaking off one's work when it is not yet finished and not breaking it off when it is already finished.

A subsequent problem must have been the derivation of *ṇivvara-*. Its inclusion in IV 124, beside such words as ṇicch*alla-* and ṇill*ūra-*, would indicate that the question whether *chid-* adequately covered its meaning was a secondary consideration. This, in turn, would justify, in retrospect, the range claimed above as to the meaning of *chid-*. The inclusion of *ṇivvara-* in IV 124 appears to have been a decision entirely made in the context of the grammar. In any case, the way back from the grammarian's *chid-* to gāthā 255 was subsequently lost sight of.

The occurrence of *ṇivvara-*, '*duḥkhaṃ kathay-*', side by side with *ṇivvara-*, '*chid-*', may be accounted for by the fact that Hemacandra's grammar is a compilation. It may be argued that *chid-* represents an older layer in the grammar as it would probably not have surfaced if the other already had been available[4]. As said above, its connection with the known instances of *ṇivvara-* had almost upon its conception been lost sight of. It remains unclear, however, why Hemacandra failed to make the link between *ṇivvala-*[5], '*duḥkhaṃ muc-*', (IV 92) and *ṇivvara-*, '*duḥkhaṃ kathay-*'. In this connection it should be noted that *ṇivvala-* is not found among the variants in either gāthā 204 or 255. The only other variants found, beside the ones in the South Indian mss referred to above, are *ṇivvaḍiyaṃ* (Bh[a]) and *ṇivvaviyaṃ* (Bh[b]), both in gāthā 255.

§ 2 *ṇaḍa-*

Ṇaḍa-, 'to nag', is common in Apabhraṃśa; see, for instance, the Apa verses in *Hc.* IV 370(2) and 385. For possible derivatives in NIA, see Turner, *CDIAL* 6934. It does not occur in M Pkt, except for three instances in the *Sattasaī*, as a secondary variant or in a gāthā which may be a later addition to this collection. Thus, in 509 R and S have introduced *ṇaḍiehiṃ* for *bhariehiṃ* found in γ and ψ, on the one hand, and in Ma (p. 180), Ti (pp. 104-5) and Tp, on the other (Ti and Tp actually read *rahiehi*,

4. The absence of the relevant sūtra, *Hc.* IV 124, from the *Saḍbhāṣācandrikā* (see Chart II), seems to be due to an independent development in this grammar.

5. This *ṇivvala-* is to be kept apart from *ṇivvala-* (*-ḍa-*) mentioned in *Hc.* IV 62 and 128 as ādeśas for *pṛthak* and *spaṣṭo bhū-*, for which, see e.g. *Setubandha* VI 88.

showing metathesis (< *(b)hariehi*), and Ma *rattiehi* (chāyā: *rahitaiḥ*), which may be due to contamination of *rahiehi* with a *rattehi*). The remaining two instances (632 and 77) concern gāthās absent from the so-called Third South Indian recension (77 is also absent from T) so that their authenticity cannot be taken for granted. In 632 ψ and γ have *viṇaḍio* (γ *viṇi-*), R and T have *taha kiyaṃ* and *viluṇihao* (chāyā: *vinihataḥ*) respectively, while some commentaries assume *pulaio*. Gāthā 77 is almost certainly a later addition to the North Indian branches, not only because of the Apa word *ṇaḍa-*, but also because of the ending *-esuṃ*, which is, in fact, the only instance of the locative plural ending with anusvāra in the whole of the *Sattasaī* (see Tieken 1983: 168). gāthā 77 reads as follows:

> *khaṃdhaggiṇā vaṇesuṃ taṇehi gāmammi rakkhio pahio*
> *ṇaaravasio ṇaḍijjai sāṇusaeṇa vva sīeṇa,*
>
> A traveller is always kept warm: in the forests by a fire of large logs of wood and in the village by (a bed of) straw. A person who lags behind in the town is nagged by a constant cold.

'Constant' in the translation represents *sāṇusaeṇa vva*, 'as if it (the cold) has an attachment or a latent bias (for this person)'. Compare also Pāli *anusāyika-*, 'chronic'. *Ṇaaravasio* is taken as a generic masculine, referring to a woman here. Compare *kassa* in gāthā 17, with secondary *kie* in Ma and Tp; see Tieken 1983: 213-4.

As to *ṇaḍa-*, Hemacandra's grammar presents a curious picture. *Hc.* IV 150 mentions the verb as an ādeśa for *gup-*, 'to protect'. In his commentary Hemacandra tries to 'save' this sūtra by assuming that what has been meant here is *gupyati*, 'is confused' (only Dhātupāṭha). Instead, I would like to suggest that the particular sūtra has been framed ad hoc to account for *ṇaḍa-* in gāthā 77, *ṇaḍijjai* being taken as synonymous with *rakkhio* in the first line. The second line may have been interpreted in something like the following way: 'the person who remains in the town is protected by the cold (itself), because in this case it is, as it were, mingled with (the heat of) remorse'. For remorse (*aṇusaa-*) producing heat, see also gāthā 33. It should be noted, however, that in the commentaries *ṇaḍijjai* is correctly glossed with, e.g., *khedyate* (Gaṅgādhara) and *bādhyate* (Bhuvanapāla).

It would seem that Hemacandra had found the sūtra '*ṇaḍa-*, "*gup-*"', in one of his sources. Evidently he was not aware of its peculiar connection with *ṇaḍa-* in *Sattasaī* 77 and was able in his commentary to emend the mistake of his source in what is after all a highly ingenious way. On the other hand, he remained faithful to his source by including this typical Apa word among the ādeśas in M Pkt.

In this connection it should be noted that the few Apa forms which occurred in the *Sattasaī* were generally removed from that text (509, with *ṇaḍiehiṃ* introduced secondarily for *bhariehi/rahiehi*, is an exception!). The reason behind this is not always clear. In some cases it would seem to be because the forms in question were indeed considered *Fremdkörper*. Note the fate of *viṇaḍio* in 632, referred to above, and that of *bhamāḍaṇa-* in 40 (see Tieken 1983: 252f.) or of *phalaḍiā* in 92 (see Bh[a] *phalaḍayā*) (it is striking that all three gāthās are absent from the South Indian recensions).

§ 3 *ḍuṃḍua-*

The word *ḍuṃḍua-* is mentioned in *Deśīn.* IV 11 as a word for 'bell' (*ghaṇṭammi ḍuṃḍuo*, commentary: *ḍuṃḍuo jīṃghaṇṭaḥ*). The only known instance of the word is *Sattasaī* 172:

> *gahavaiṇā muaserihaḍuṃḍu(m)adāmaṃ ciraṃ vaheūṇa*
> *vaggasaāiṃ ṇeūṇa ṇavari ajjāhare vaddhaṃ.*

The reading *ḍuṃḍuma-* is based on γ and P; ψ has *ḍuṃḍua-*, K and S *ḍuṃḍuha-* and Bh *duṃḍamaṃ* (Bh[b] *duṃḍahimaṃ*). R has substituted *ghaṃṭā-*. The gāthā is not available in the South Indian recensions represented by T and by Ma, Ti and Tp respectively. The commentaries agree with Hemacandra: *ḍuṃḍubha(ḥ) sthūla-ghaṇṭāyāṃ* Sādhāraṇadeva, *ḍuṃḍumaśabdo vṛhadghaṇṭāyāṃ vartate* Gaṅgādhara, *ḍuṃḍuā gurughaṃṭā* χ, *ḍuṃḍumaṃ ghaṇṭā* Bhuvanapāla. Unfortunately we do not have a complete translation by Weber. His translation of 1870 was based on Kulanātha's defective commentary and has subsequently been recalled without being replaced. The situation as it is generally understood may be summarized as follows. After his buffalo had died its owner had been looking in vain for another to carry the bell-rope and to lead the herd. Having done this himself for years he finally hangs the bell in the temple of the goddess Āryā. He did not solve his problem, but at least had found a useful purpose for the bell. Compare Patwardhan's translation, who reads *serihi-* and *ṇieūṇa*: 'The farmer having for a long time carried about (here and there) the bell-string of his dead she-buffalo and having examined hundreds of buffalo-herds (and having failed to find any buffalo worthy of wearing it), suspended it (finally) in the temple of Āryā (i.e. Goddess Caṇḍī)' (Patwardhan, gāthā 372).

As already indicated above, *ḍuṃḍu(o/m/h)a-*, 'bell', is otherwise unknown. It also lacks cognates in NIA, but this is the case only so long as one sticks to the meaning 'bell'. Leaving this meaning for what it is, *ḍuṃḍua-* could be included among the cognates, widely distributed in NIA, of Skt *tuṇḍa-*, 'mouth, snout, lips', collected by

Turner, *CDIAL* 5853. For the initial retroflex in *duṇḍua-*, see in particular the words in the §§ 20-24 (*thuṇḍa-*, etc.) and in § 26 (*duṇḍa-*).

A *duṇḍuadāma-* would be a rope tied round (or to) a buffalo's mouth. As far as gāthā 172 is concerned — and it should be noted again that this is so far the only known instance of the word — this interpretation is supported by *ajjahare*, which should be analysed not as *ajjā(g)hare* but as *ajjā(d)hare*, 'to his wife's lip(s)'.

However, with these two interpretations, of *duṇḍuadāmaṃ* and *ajjahare*, which seem mutually supportive, the problem of the exact nature and function of the rope called *duṇḍuadāma-* is not yet solved. From *ajjahare* it is clear that it cannot refer to the nose-rope used to lead the buffalo around. Moreover, the term for the nose-rope has been based, at least in MIA and NIA, on words for 'nose'; see Turner, *CDIAL* 7031 and 7089 (§ 2), and *Deśīn.* IV 17: *ṇatthā 'ṇāsātrajjū'*. On the other hand, I have not been able to find out if, for instance during ploughing, another kind of rope was used, tied around the buffalo's snout to steer it from behind, or if a muzzle was ever used in order to prevent the animal from eating at will.

Apart from these details, which are important in themselves, the situation seems clear, and agrees with what is generally found in the pictures of life among farmers painted in the *Sattasaī*. The farmer, unable to find a suitable new she-buffalo (read *serihi-* with ms Bh), tied the rope around (or to) his wife's lip(s). As such this situation provides a variant of the one found in Premchand's novel *The Gift of a Cow*, where Dhaniya taunts her husband Hori with the words: 'Now where will we get the money to buy bullocks? Are you going to hitch me to the plough, or pull it yourself?' (pp. 229-30 of G.C. Roadarmel's translation, London, 1968). In the gāthā under discussion, however, it is not clear if tying to a plough has been intended. Furthermore, the dilemma of the *gahavai* does not seem to spring from financial constraints; instead it originates from the choosiness he feels he has to maintain in selecting a new buffalo in conformity with his high status within the rural community (Tieken 1983: 147) (read *vaggasaāiṃ ṇiūṇa*, cp. *ṇieūṇa* in Bh and R, which, however, is unmetrical, and *nirīkṣya* in Sādhāraṇadeva's commentary. For *ṇia-*, 'to see', see *Hc* IV 181 and Turner, *CDIAL* 7165). His aspirations concerning the buffalo thus make him a poor husband.

In the following translation of the gāthā *ṇavari*, 'no other than' (see Tieken 1983: 211-2), is represented by the exclamation mark.

> After his buffalo-cow had died the farmer for a long time carried around the rope that had been tied to her snout. After having inspected hundreds of herds (looking for a replacement), he tied it to his wife's lip(s)!

§ 4 *hālāhala-*

The word occurs in the *Sattasaī* in gāthā 62:

> *daraphuḍiasippisaṃpuḍaṇilukkahālāhalaggacheppaṇihaṃ*
> *pikkaṃvaṭṭhiviṇiggaakomalaṃ aṃvaṃkuraṃ uaha.*

According to the commentaries *hālāhala-* means 'lizard'. E.g. Bhuvanapāla: *hālāhala-śabdo gṛhagodhikāyāḥ paryāyoktiḥ yasyāḥ brāhmaṇīti loke prasiddhir iti.* The same meaning is found in the *Pāiyal.* (227: *baṃbhaṇiyā-*) and *Deśīn.* (VIII 75: *baṃbhaṇī-*). Weber had to admit, however, that he did not understand what a lizard should be doing in a shell.

In the present context one would indeed rather expect a kind of fish, assuming that the shell is lying in the water. Staying close to the gloss *brāhmaṇī-*, the word which come to mind here is *brāhmī-*, being used to denote a kind of eel, namely the *magronathus pancalus*. As far as the word *hālāhala-* is concerned this meaning would represent no problem. *Hālāhala-* clearly is onomatopeic in origin and as such it could have been used to refer to any surreptitiously moving animal. Thus, according to the *Medinīkośa* (I 167) *halāhala-*, which is undoubtedly related, denotes a *brahmasarpa-*snake (*halāhalo brahmasarpe añjanāyāṃ viṣe striyām*; quoted in Gaṅgādhara's commentary on gāthā 62: *hālāhalo* (sic) *brahmasarpa iti Medinīkośaḥ*). In this light, 62 may be translated as follows:

> Look, out of the soft mango stone a tender sprout has grown! It looks
> like the tail-end of an eel hiding in the cavity of a half-open shell.

Before going into the meaning of this gāthā I would like to round off the discussion of *hālāhala-*. Above I definitely did not intend to suggest that *brāhmaṇī-* of the *Pāiyal.* and *Deśīn.* is a synonym of *brāhmī-*. On the contrary, I believe that *brāhmaṇī-* is intended to mean 'lizard' there and that this meaning of *hālāhala-* is to be traced back to the occurrence of the word in the *Sattasaī*. What may have contributed to the idea that *hālāhala-* in this gāthā would mean 'lizard' is the reference to its tail, *cheppa-*, a word which occurs in several NIA words for lizard, such as Hindī *chipkī* and Nepālī *chepāro* (see Turner, *CDIAL* 12607). The commentaries show that the strange situation which is the result (a lizard hiding in a shell) was subsequently not questioned.

In order to understand the (erotic) situation referred to in this gāthā it should be noted in the first place that the gāthā is one of a group of gāthās which all show a similar pattern: the speaker draws attention (*ua* or *uaha*) to some striking natural phenomenon, which he or she comments upon in a comparison which itself is drawn

from nature (cp. e.g. gāthā 63; see also Tieken 1983: 188). These gāthās prove to be veritable riddles so that the following interpretation of 62 is of necessity tentative.

According to some commentaries (*Retr.*, p. 364) the speaker would refer to the approaching rainy season. It may be doubted if this is indeed the case here. As the best time of the year to plant a mango-seed is the rainy season (see G. Watt, *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*, Vol. V: 149) the gāthā would refer to the rainy season itself or, more likely, to the end of that season or even early autumn. This is also the time that the husband should leave his family again or should have left it already. In the comparison the speaker may then refer to the husband of the woman addressed, who is reluctant to leave and is trying to evade reproach or ridicule by hiding inside the house. In a very indirect way the speaker would indicate that nevertheless this cowardice has not remained unnoticed: the husband is betrayed by his tail-end jutting out.

§ 5 *karaṃja-*

Among the substitutes of *bhañj-*, 'to break', *Hc.* IV 106 includes *karaṃja-*. This verb is otherwise unknown, apart from one instance in Hemacandra's own *Kumārapālacarita* (*PSM*, p. 227, s.v. *karaṃjia-*). As the latter text was written for the purpose of furnishing examples of the rules in his grammar this instance would provide no independent evidence for the existence of the word. The word brings to mind, however, the compound *karaṃjabhaṃjaa-* found in *Sattasaī*, gāthā 554. This gāthā has a close parallel in 167: *bhaṃjaṃtassa vi ... ṇaikaraṃjasāhāo*. In these instances *karaṃja-* refers to the tree *Pongamia glabra*. I venture to suggest that the inclusion of *karaṃja-* among the ādeśas for *bhañj-*, besides such verbs as *paviraṃja-* (?) and *nīraṃja-* (?), rests on a superficial reminiscence of these two occurrences in the *Sattasaī*.

The reason to discuss these two gāthās in greater detail here lies in the fact that they seem to contain a pun, hitherto unnoticed, on one of the heroic deeds performed by Indra, namely the slaying of Karañja. This deed of Indra is apparently otherwise known only from the *Ṛgveda*.

In both gāthās a religious beggar (*dhammia*) is scolded for having broken (the branches of) a *karaṃja*-tree (167: *bhaṃjaṃtassa vi ... ṇaikaraṃjasāhāo*, 554: *karaṃjabhaṃjaa*). Without realizing it he had thus disturbed the place where the woman used to meet her lover in secret. This breaking of the *karaṃja-* is interpreted as an attempt by the holy man to become a god residing in heaven (cf. 167: *saggagāmiṇo*), which is exactly where the woman wished he would have been!

The two references in the *Ṛgveda* to Indra's slaying of (the) Karañja (I, 53, 8 and X, 48, 8) are brief. I, 53, 8: *tvaṃ karañjam uta parṇayaṃ vadhīs tejiṣṭhayātithigvasya vartanī* ..., 'Du hast den Karañja und Parṇaya durch den scharfen Radschnitt des

Atithigva getötet', and X, 48, 8: ... *yat parṇaghna uta vā karañjahe prāhaṃ vṛtrahatye aśuśruvi*, '... als ich bei der Tötung des Parṇaya oder auch bei der Tötung des Karañja und bei der grossen Vṛtratötung meinen Ruhm verbreitet habe' (trsl. Geldner).

It is not clear in either of these cases who or what this *karañja-* actually is, that is, a man or a demon. On the other hand, its occurrence side by side with *parṇa(ya-)*, which in later times also denoted a tree, apparently has allowed, retrospectively, to interprete *karañja-* in these two instances as if it denoted a tree as well. Thus, a man who breaks a *karañja*-tree can by way of a joke be called a little Indra working his way up to heaven. The word *dhammia-*, with which in the *Sattasaī* this man is addressed, acquires in this context a very cynical overtone, as Indra was particularly known for misusing the garb of a holy man to approach other men's wives. The woman is questioning the reason for the holy man's being in the bushes along the river.

Gāthā 554 in Weber's edition reads as follows:

> *eddahamette gāme ṇa paḍai bhikkha tti kīsa maṃ bhaṇasi*
> *dhammia karaṃjabhaṃjaa jaṃ jiasi taṃ pi de vahuaṃ,*
>
> 'Such a large village and I have not received one single alms'. Why do you complain to me with these words? O, holy man, as you've broken the *karaṃja*-tree you should be glad that you're still alive!

Gāthā 167 in Weber's edition reads:

> *bhaṃjaṃtassa vi tuha saggagāmiṇo ṇaikaraṃjasāhāo*
> *pāā ajja vi dhammia tuha kae dharaṇiṃ cia chivaṃti.*

The text of the second line is uncertain: there exist, basically, three sets of variants:

I	*pāā*	*donni vi*	Bh, R *dhammia*	*ajja vi*	
		aṇajja	S *dhammia*		
		ṇajjai	Ma, Tp *dhammia*		
II	*pāā*	*ajja vi*	γ, ψ *dhammia*	*tuha kaha*	*dh. c. ch.*
III	*bhaṇa kaa*	*ajja vi*	T, W *dhammia*	*pāā*	
		pāā	K *ajja vi*	*dhammia*	

In order to explain what has happened here we should proceed from *ṇajjai* found in Ma (p. 75) and Tp, which *ṇajjai* (*jñāyate*) seems to function here as a kind of interjection. As such it could be translated literally with 'it is (well) known, as

everybody can see', or, more freely with 'but, look, despite that ...'. Alternatively, we may have to do here with an early instance of its use, attested for Apa and described by Jacobi (1918: *65), in the figure utprekṣā, meaning 'it seems'. In any case, precisely because of its loose relation with the rest of the sentence, *ṇajjai* may have come to be misunderstood and 'emended' into *aṇajja* (*anārya*) in S, on the one hand, and into *ajja vi* in γ and ψ, on the other. In the latter case *ajja vi* in the fourth pāda had become redundant and had been replaced by *tuha kaha* (but note *tuha* in the first line) and *bhaṇa kaha*. In the third set of variants we also see the result of a further rearrangement of the words. The gāthā may originally have read as follows:

bhaṃjaṃtassa vi tuha saggagāmiṇo ṇaikaraṃjasālāo
pāā ṇajjai dhammia ajja vi dharaṇiṃ cia chivaṃti,

Even though you are breaking the branches of the *karañja*-trees on the river bank, trying to work your way to heaven, holy man, your feet still touch the ground.

In the second line the idea that the feet of the gods do not touch the ground has been connected with their stay in heaven.

The commentaries on these two gāthās have tried to explain the purpose for which the holy man broke the branches of the *karaṃja*-tree. They suggest that he used them for brushing his teeth (*Ed.*, p. 261). This use of the *karaṃja*-tree is otherwise unknown. I am not even certain whether we have to take the breaking literally here. By roaming about in the grove of *karaṃja*-trees on the river bank the holy man may indeed have broken some branches, but more importantly he has also disturbed the place where the woman used to meet her lover. Mendicant monks and lovers are competitors for the same deserted places. See in this connection gāthā 175, in which a holy man (*dhammia*) is warned to stay away from the dense trees growing on the bank of the Godāvarī-river.

The *karaṃja*-tree is mentioned also in gāthā 121, but in a context which seems to have nothing to do with the one in 167 and 554. Gāthā 121 in Weber's edition reads as follows:

gaagaṃḍatthalaṇihasaṇamaamailikaakaraṃjasāhāhiṃ
eṃtīa kulagharāo ṇāaṃ vāhīa paimaraṇaṃ.

The hunter's wife has visited her own family, either to give birth or for the rakṣabandha-ceremony. On her way home she notices that the branches of the *karaṃja*-trees have been soiled by the ichor of elephants, from which she concludes

that her husband, otherwise a fearful hunter of elephants, must have died. In order to understand this gāthā one must bear in mind that the wife of a hunter represents the so-called rustic type, who is liable to draw the wrong conclusions. The worst thing which can happen to her is the death of her husband, which means utter poverty (see in this connection gāthā 665, and Tieken 1983: 145-6). Obsessed by this fear she overlooks the more obvious explanation, namely that during her absence her husband has taken a new and younger wife. His new love exhausts him so much that he is no longer able to hunt (see in particular gāthā 742, and, generally, Tieken, loc. cit.). The fact that the trees mentioned in this gāthā are *karaṃja*-trees is merely coincidental: they happen to grow along roads!

§ 6 *tuppa-*

The meaning 'smeared (with oil)' for *tuppa-*, found in *Pāiyal.* 233 (*makkhiyaṃ tuppaṃ*) and *Deśīn.* V 22 (*siṇiddha ... tuppo*) has at an earlier occasion been traced back to a misunderstanding of the compound *vaṇṇa(g)ghaa(t)uppa(muhī-)* occurring in the *Sattasaī*, gāthās 22 and 520 (see Tieken 1983:221ff.).

The compound *vaṇṇa(g)ghaa(t)uppa-* is a kind of karmadhāraya, consisting of a regional word for 'ghee' (*tuppa-*; see Turner, *CDIAL* 5864) preceded and explained by a commonly known, regular Skt synonym, *ghaa-* (*ghṛta-*). The compound may be translated as '*tuppa-*, i.e. coloured ghee' (or: 'coloured *tuppa-*, i.e. ghee').

Other examples from the *Sattasaī* are *saṃkhasippi-* (4), *vaiveḍha(a-)* (96, 220, 221, 564) and *acchabhalla-* (109) (see Tieken 1983: 190). To these may be added *atthabhalla-*, 'arrow', discussed below, § 15, s.v. *uppaṃka-*.

The main reason, however, to refer to *tuppa-* and the type of compound here is that I have come accross a similar type of compound in the highly sanskritized Tamil of the South Indian Bhakti poems, namely *aravappuyaṅkaṉ-*, 'he who wears a snake', (Kāraikkālammaiyār, p. 37, line 8) and *aṭavikāṭu-*, 'forest', (Appar, poem 7188, line 8). *Aravappuyaṅkaṉ-* is an appellative noun ending in *-aṉ*, consisting of Tamil *arava(m)-*, 'snake', followed by a Skt synonym *bhujaṃga-*. In *aṭavi-kāṭu-*, 'forest', the order of Tamil and Skt is reversed. This might suggest that we have here in Tamil rather to do with an enumeration than with an equivalent of a Skt karmadhāraya-compound. In order to be able to ascertain this evidently more examples from Tamil (and from Skt; see *palli-grāma-*, *JAOS* 75 (1955), p. 42) will have to be collected[6].

6. See also Māṇikkavācakar I 30 (*Civapurāṇam*): *cellāmiṉṟa ittāvaracaṅkamattu*, in which *ittāvara-* represents Skt *sthāvara-* and *caṅkama(ttu) jaṅgama-*. Preceding *cellāmiṉṟa* either means 'moving', as such explaining *jaṅgama-* (note the jumping over intervening *ittāvara-*) or 'moving and standing', explaining *caṅkamattu* and *ittāvara-* respectively (note the chiasmus).

§ 7 *haṇa-*

Haṇa-, which is known only from *Deśīn.* VIII 59, meaning 'far away' (*dūra-*) has almost certainly been abstracted from the compound *māṇahaṇa-* (*-dhaṇa-*; cp. *tapodhana-*), literally 'rich in pride'. The compound occurs in the *Sattasaī* twice, namely in 129 and 715. In both instances the person so described is indeed unapproachable, staying aloof and keeping everybody at a distance.

Gāthā 129 should read as follows:

> *taha māṇo māṇahaṇāe tīa emea dūraṁ aṇuvaddho*
> *jaha se asuṇīe pio ekkaggāma ccia pauttho,*

with *māṇahaṇāe* as in T, Ma (p. 67), Tp and K (*-haāe*), and *asuṇīe* as in Bh[b], Ma and Tp (cp. Bh[a] *asuṇi*, T *suviṇio* and Bhuvanapāla: *aśravaṇaśīlayā*, chāyā in Ma (loc. cit.): *aśṛṇvatyāḥ*. Cp. *Vajjālagga* 350: *asuṇi; he anākarṇanaśīle, ākarṇaya mama vacanaṁ*). It may be translated as follows:

> The angry woman persisted in her sulking even after its cause had disappeared (*emea*), with the result that her husband, to whom she refused to listen, started to avoid his own house.

For *ekkaggāma ccia pauttho*, literally 'though in the same village virtually abroad', see gāthā 43: *ekkaggāmapavāso* (see also Garrez 1872: 213).

Gāthā 715 reads:

> *so vi juā māṇahaṇo tumaṁ pi māṇassa asahaṇā putti*
> *mattacchaleṇa gammau surāi uvariṁ pusasu hatthaṁ.*

The following translation is tentative as the precise meaning of *pusasu* in the second line is uncertain (from *pruṣ-*?).

> If this young man doesn't stop sulking and if you, my little girl, are unable to bear his moodiness, what you should do is approach him with a glass of wine, feigning to be drunk, and spill it over his hand.

The type of variation between intervocalic *dh* and *h* as in *māṇadhaṇa-* is unpredictable and seems here as in other cases to cut through the distribution of the mss in the stemma.

§ 8 *saccavia-*

Saccavia- occurs fairly frequently in M Pkt: three times in the *Sattasaī* (478, 539 and 809), nine times in the *Setubandha* (see index, p. 188[b], s.v.) and six times in the *Gauḍavaho* (see index, p. 481[b], s.v.). In the majority of instances it is to be translated by 'aimed at', said of an arrow, as in *Setubandha* V 25: *ṇikkampaṇirāadiṭṭhi-saccaviasaraṁ ... dhaṇuṁ*, '(began to draw) his bow, aiming the arrow with a steady and [*ṇirāa*] eye', or of a march, as in *Setubandha* XV 36: *ṇiumbhilāhutta-saccaviapatthāṇaṁ*, 'who directed the march towards Nikumbhilā'; or by 'taken as aim for one's attack or for one's weapons', as in *Setubandha* XII 88: *rahagaa-saccaviapavaavaisomettiṁ ... ṭṭhi balaṁ*, 'the army rushed out, the infantry taking as the target the Lord of the monkeys and Saumitri' (synonymous with *varia-*, 'chosen'), and XIII 4: *saccavialaddhalakkhā ... bhaḍā*, 'the heroes took aim and hit', or as in XIV 16: *samaaṁ cia saccaviā ... daharahataṇaā*, 'the (two) sons of Daśaratha simultaneously taken under attack (by Indrajit)', and in *Gauḍavaho* 688: *tassa sevāgaehiṁ ... ṇiyaṇayarasaṇṇivesā veriṇarindehiṁ saccaviyā*, 'the enemy king's vassals aimed their attacks at their own cities'.

These meanings have somehow been preserved in *Deśīn.* VIII 17: *saccaviaṁ ... ahippee*, '*saccavia-* in the meaning *abhipreta-*'. *Saccavia-*, 'aimed at, etc.', is probably the causative of *sajja-/sajya-*, 'caused to cling to, caused to be clung to', with *cc* for *jj*, analogically after the past participle *satta-* (*sakta-*) (see Turner 1964, but see also Tieken 1987: 199, where the need has been pointed out to reconsider this explanation by analogy). The development of the meaning has exact parallels in NIA, for which, see Turner, *CDIAL* 13085.

Despite the support from the *Deśīn.* this particular meaning of *saccavia-* has been completely pushed to the background by the meaning 'seen, looked at', found in both *Hc* IV 181 and *Pāiyal.* 78, in which *saccava/e-* is mentioned as a synonym of the verb *dṛś-*. The commentaries, which gloss *saccavia-* frequently with *satyāpita-* or *satyīkṛta-*, would show that the relation with *sajja-* was indeed no longer recognized. Next, it was not difficult to point to contexts which suggested 'seen' as a separate meaning. Take, for instance, *Sattasaī* 478:

> *vaṇṇavasie viatthasi saccaṁ cia so tue ṇa saccavio*
> *ṇa hu hoṇṭi tammi diṭṭhe satthāvatthāi aṁgāiṁ.*

The reading *saccavio* has been based on χ, S, R, Bh, Ma (p. 107) and Tp; in adopting *satth-* (*Ed sutth-*) I follow the majority of the mss.

At first sight *saccavio* seems to be taken up, and paraphrased, by following *diṭṭhe*. Rather, however, this instance could be used to argue that even if there is some common element in the meanings of *saccavia-* and *diṭṭha-* respectively, there is also a

difference: *saccavia-* seems to denote something more than plain 'seeing'. In this connection *Gauḍavaho* 312 should be considered: *mīlantacchidaṃsaṇaguṇehiṃ tiyasehiṃ vi tuha ṇiddattaṇammi rūyaṃ ṇa saccaviyaṃ*. The point here is that while the goddess did not move as she was sleeping and under such circumstances should have provided an ideal target, the gods nevertheless failed to be able to take aim as they blinked their eyes (quite exceptionally for gods). *Saccavia-* thus implies having an undisturbed view for some time.

Returning to gāthā 478, quoted above, it should be noted that the situation referred to takes place during Holī (cp. 809, for which, see below, and 312, to be discussed in § 10). The girl, boasting that she has thrown a handful of coloured powder at her lover, is not believed as she still is *vaṇṇavasie* (*varṇavasite* ?, left untranslated) herself:

> ... you are boasting. Truly, you have not hit him. For it you had only so much as seen him you would not have looked so normal as you do now!

See also 809, in which the girl failed to aim the powder at her lover as he constantly disappeared: *tumaṃ ṇa tīa saccavio sīsāhaavaliabhuaṃgavaṃkaracche haaggāme*.

As already indicated above, the meaning 'seen' has somehow pushed the other, 'aimed at, etc.', into the background. *Saccavia-* is mostly translated with 'seen' or any of its synonyms[7]. The fact that the meaning 'aimed at' has been preserved at all is due to the lexicographers, who only 'added' and never actually 'deleted' or 'replaced'.

Apart from the meaning 'aimed at, etc.' there is evidence of at least one other, quite different meaning, namely 'decorated, put on as a decoration' (from 'caused to be clung to, caused to cling to', respectively. For NIA parallels, see Turner, *CDIAL* 13085 (§§ 1 and 3)). The meaning 'decorated' is found in *Sattasaī* 539, which gāthā, however, already appears to have been misunderstood in an early stage of its transmission, as the textual adaptation to which this misunderstanding has given rise is shared by all the branches of the mss tradition. In Weber's edition (*Ed.*) gāthā 539 reads:

> *daṭṭhūṇa uṇṇamaṃte mehe āmukkajīviāsāe*
> *pahiahariṇīa ḍiṃbho oruṇṇamuhīe saccavio,*

7. See Goldschmidt's note to the translation of *Setubandha* XI 136: 'Kann *saccavia-* diese, mit der Etymologie [*satyāpita-*] durchaus verträgliche Bedeutung ['befestigten'] haben? Es heisst sonst immer 'mit den Augen fixiert, ins Auge gefasst' (ein Ziel, oder ein zu entsendendes Geschoss etc.), daher = *sthirīkṛta-*, *lakṣīkṛta-* u. dgl. Scholl., = *dṛṣṭa-* Gramm.'

which, in conformity with the commentators, has been translated by that editor as follows:

> Als sie die Wolken sich thürmen sah, blickte die Frau des (trotzdem ausbleibenden) Wanderers, alle Lebenshoffnung aufgebend, ihr Söhnchen mit weinendem Antlitz an.

For *oruṇṇa-* (ψ, S, T, Ma (p. 110; *avarudita-*), Ti (p. 91) and Tp) the following variants are found: *oraṇṇa-* in γ, *aruṇa-* in R, *uruṇṇa-* in Bh[a] and *oraṃna-* in Bh[b]. The existence of these variants, if not mere scribal errors, beside *oruṇṇa-* (*avarudita-*), which, though rare, is perfectly clear as to its form and meaning, is problematic. As far as I can see they are corruptions standing between the original reading and the final 'emendation' *oruṇṇa-*. For a reconstruction of the original reading I would like to draw attention to the variant *oraṇṇa-*, which would represent *oraṃta-*, i.e. *aparānta-*, 'west'. In Jaina Nāgarī the ligatures *ṇṭ* and *ṇṇ* are difficult to distinguish. *ṇṇ*, in its turn, is in these mss a spelling variant of *nn* (*ṉn*), which explain *maṃtu-* for *maṇṇu-* (see Tieken 1983: 70). The variant *oruṇṇa-* could then be explained as an emendation for *oraṇṇa-* (cp. γ)[8]. Thus, the woman depicted in the gāthā stands facing west (*oraṃtāmuhīe*), which, in Maharashtra, is the direction where indeed the raincloud appear. Seeing clouds rising there she starts to decorate her body (*ḍiṃbha*, which does not mean 'child' here) in anticipation of her husband's imminent return:

> *daṭṭhūṇa uṇṇamaṃte mehe āmukkajīviāsāe*
> *pahiahariṇīa ḍiṃbho oraṃtamuhīe saccavio,*
>
> After the traveller's wife, who had already given up the will to live, had looked to the west and saw the gathering clouds, she decorated her body.

An instance of 'put on as a decoration' may be *Gauḍavaho* 236: *asimmi saccaviyā ... jayalacchī*, 'the goddess of victory attached (as a decoration) to the sword'. This instance, however, is indifferent, in the sense that, once the meaning 'seen' has been accepted, there is no compelling reason to question it. This means that with the corruption of *Sattasaī* 539, which must have been fairly old, the only instance of *saccavia-*, 'decorated', known so far has disappeared. This may, in turn, explain why the dictionaries and grammars failed to recognize the meaning.

8. For *oruṇṇa-* (*avarudita-*), see Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* VII, pr. 11 (p. 138): *oruṇṇa ... vaaṇo*. For other coincidences in the vocabulary of the *Sattasai* and Bhavabhūti's *MM*, see note 3.

By way of conclusion I would like to draw attention to the wide range of meanings of *saccavia-* as found in the *Sattasaī*, *Setubandha* and *Gauḍavaho*, which can only be explained with reference to the etymological meaning. It should be noted that where above I have referred to parallels for the specialized meanings 'to aim, to hit' and 'to decorate' in NIA, no direct continuation from MIA to NIA was implied. As far as the literary Pkt instances are concerned we would rather have to do with a conceit, or a particular tour de force, typical of kāvya, namely the exploiting of the etymological meaning of a word, so that, for instance, *pratispardhin-* could come to be used as a particle of comparison.

§ 9 *karamarī-*

The word *karamarī-* occurs three times in the *Sattasaī*: 54, 55 and 528. It is mentioned in the *Pāiyal.* (106) and the *Deśīn.* (II 15) as a synonym of *bandī-*, '(female) prisoner, hostage'. A masc. (and ntr.) *karamara-* is found in Pāli. Among the latter occurrences Thieme distinguishes between those meaning 'prisoner' in the Jātaka prose and the one instance meaning 'robbery, spoils' (ntr.?) in *Vinaya* III 140 (*dhajāhaṭā nāma karamarānītā vuccati*)[9].

In gāthā 528 the *karamarī-*[10] has indeed been kidnapped, in 54 she is found in the company of *bandī*s, and in both 54 and 55 her husband would seem to be fighting his way towards here, presumably to liberate her. The traditional interpretation is, however, not without its problems. Take, for instance, gāthā 54:

> *vajjavaḍaṇāirikkaṃ paiṇo soūṇa siṃjiṇīghosaṃ*
> *pusiāi karamarīe sarivaṃdīṇaṃ pi acchūiṃ,*
>
> Als die Gefangene den Klang der Bogensehne ihres Gemahls hörte, der noch härter als der Fall des Donnerkeils klingt, wurden durch sie auch die Augen ihrer Mitgefangenen abgewischt (getrocknet). (Trsl. Weber.)

9. P. Thieme (1937: 88-146, in particular pp. 131-2), given the absence of an early fem. *karamarī-* (that is, earlier than the *Vinaya* passage), suggested that we should proceed from an original abstract noun *karamara-*, 'robbery, spoils'. *Karamarī-*, 'hostage', would be related to this *karamara-* as *grahaṇī-* is to *grahaṇa-*. He furthermore suggested to connect Pāli *karamara-*, meaning 'Handbeute' (= 'die mit der [eigenen] Hand gemachte Beute' = 'was man sich persönlich erbeutete'), with a Vedic verb *mṛ-*, 'gewaltsam ergreifen': 'wegreissen, rauben, erobern'.
For *dhajāhaṭā*, see *Arthaśāstra* 3, 13, 19: *āryaprāṇo dhvajāhṛtaḥ karmakālānurūpeṇa mūlyārdhena vā vimucyate.*

10. For *karamarī-* some mss of the *Sattasaī* have a variant *karimarī-*. As the latter is only found in Pkt, which has only the fem., and not in Pāli, which has only the masc./ntr., *karī-* is almost certainly secondary, showing an instance of anticipation of the ending *-ī*.

Before going any further into the situation depicted in this gāthā, one important emendation has to be made to this text. Instead of *sari-* (supposedly Skt *sadṛk-*; see below) several mss read *siri-* (*śrī-*), namely Ma (p. 45. But the chāyā and the commentary have *sadṛśa-*) and Tp, on the one hand, and Bhuvanapāla's commentary (*upari mukhya-*), on the other. As a result of this distribution preference must be given to *siri-*.

A first remark concerns the type of person of the *karamarī-*. As far as the *Sattasaī* is concerned she is to be included in the category of the rustic person, together with, e.g., the *pāmara/ī-*, *Pulinda/ī-*, *malla/ī-* and *haliautta/vahū-*. Typically of these persons she mistakes, in 55, a thunder-crash for the twang of her husband's bow; and in 528 her actions produce the opposite effect of what she intended. The clue of 54 must be looked for in the same type of mistake, that is, for instance, in her assumption that the *sirivaṃdīs* are crying for the very same reason as she is, or that her husband's arrival means for them the same as for her. In this connection it should be noted that if both the *sirivaṃdīs* and the *karamarī-* are indeed hostages, albeit with different prices on their respective heads, their reason for crying would be the same. As to the effect of their liberation, we may indeed assume a difference in their respective reactions. It is, for instance, possible that the *sirivaṃdīs* after their liberation awaited a fate similar to Sītā's, while in the milieu of the *karamarī-* a more relaxed attitude might have prevailed. In that case, however, the butt of the joke would fall on the wrong side: the *karamarī-* would in the end be better off than the *sirivaṃdīs*. It may also be argued that the *sirivaṃdīs* should ideally have been liberated by their own husbands (again, like Sītā). For them the outcome of the present situation may be that they pass from the hands of their present kidnapper into those of the *karamarī*'s husband. The problem with this interpretation is that the role of kidnapper assigned to the *karamarī*'s husband, with the interpretation of *karamarī-* as hostage, would be purely accidental or ad hoc.

With this brief discussion the possible explanations of the situation are most likely not exhausted. There is, however, one other question, which has to be dealt with first, namely why indeed the *karamarī-* is crying at all? It should be noted that the other constant factor in the three instances in the *Sattasaī*, beside the stupid reactions of the *karamarī-*, concerns the role of her husband. He appears as a fierce and fearful warrior, wielding a strong bow. Having such a husband turns the *karamarī-* into an a-typical hostage in 528, where she refuses to let herself be intimidated by her kidnapper. In fact, she warns him that he will rue the day that he kidnapped her. Thus, why would she be crying in 54?

I believe that as far as the *Sattasaī* is concerned there is room for a completely different interpretation of the word *karamarī-*. This 'new' meaning could also be fitted in, as an alternative, in the one instance in the early Pāli prose, but not in the later

Jātaka prose instances, the latter clearly allowing no other interpretation than the traditional one.

As already indicated above, a recurrent feature in the instances of the word *karamarī-* in the *Sattasaī* is the influence of the woman's husband. One way or the other her behaviour is determined by the fact that she is the man's wife. In the traditional interpretation this feature is treated as coincidental to the occurrence of this word. The alternative, however, is to interpret *karamarī-* as meaning 'the wife of a *karamara-*' or 'a woman belonging to the Karamara tribe', just as a *mallī-* is 'a wrestler's wife', a *vāhī-* 'a hunter's wife' or a *Pulimdī-* 'a Pulinda's wife' or 'a woman belonging to the Pulinda tribe'. Vinaya *karamarānītā* could accordingly be translated as 'a woman kidnapped by a *karamara-* (or Karamara)'. We would have to do with a type of warrior or robber (or member of a tribe of warriors or robbers) armed with a bow, who was apparently known as a kidnapper.

In 54 the *karamarī-*, i.e. the *karamara*'s wife, is guarding the wives of kings, or at least wives of wealthy men, kidnapped by her husband, while the latter is away on a campaign. Hearing the twang of his bow, she knows he will be home soon, just in time before the rains have started. She is naturally overjoyed at the prospect of her husband's home-coming. The point of the gāthā would lie in her mistaken assumption that the 'royal' hostages will be relieved too, as if they have been crying because their kidnapper had left them behind! Furthermore, she does not seem to realize the implication of the situation for herself. What would be her own fate if the *sirivaṃdī*s sought (and found) comfort with her husband?

Gāthā 54 might be translated in the following way:

> Having heard the twang of the string of her husband's bow, out above the thundering clouds, the *karamara*'s (or Karamara's) wife dried the eyes of the royal hostages as well!

Gāthā 528 is indeed the only instance (in the *Sattasaī*) in which the *karamarī-* has been kidnapped. She is speaking to her kidnapper (*cora*). At the same time the gāthā literally refers to the strength and reliability of her husband (read *thāmo*, with Bh, for *gavvo*). That her husband was a kidnapper too may have been part of the joke, but does not seem to be the main point.

> *karamari kīsa ṇa gammai ko thāmo jeṇa masiṇa-*(v.l. *maṃda-*)*gamaṇā si*
> *aditthadaṃtaṃ hasirīa jaṃpiaṃ cora jāṇihisi,*
>
> *Karamarī*, why don't you run away? What is the force that slows you down? Smilingly she says: 'Thief, you will soon find out!'

Relying on her husband to come and liberate her soon she is not afraid of her kidnapper. Her behaviour towards him is, however, ambiguous. He could easily interpret it as if she is about to surrender herself to his charms (cp. gāthā 118). Her answer to his question sounds like a promise rather than a threat.

Gāthā 55 provides a simple instance of the figure *bhrāntimadalaṃkāra*, which is found often in connection with a rustic type of person. The *karamarī*'s husband is away. She expects him back before the rains start:

> *karamari aālagajjirajalāsaṇivaḍaṇapaḍiravo eso*
> *paiṇo dhaṇuravakaṃkhiri kiṃ romaṃcaṃ muhā vahasi*

(*kiṃ romaṃcaṃ* instead of *romaṃcaṃ kiṃ* with Bh, R, Ma (p. 48) and Tp),

> *Karamarī*, this is only the echo of a thunder-crash from an early raincloud. I suppose you thought (*kaṃkhiri*) it was the noise of your husband's bow, for why else is the hair on your body standing on end?

In both 54 and 55 the *karamarī-*, on hearing the noise of a bow in the distance, concludes that her husband is approaching. As already indicated, if the *karamarī-* would indeed mean 'hostage', it would seem as if he is fighting his way towards her. In the alternative interpretation suggested above, it concerns a literary conceit, in which the husband is identified with his bow or with his profession as bowman.

While the meaning 'robber, kidnapper' could be fitted in the Vinaya instance of *karamara-*, this is not the case with the instances in the later Pāli texts: *karamare gahetvā* in *Jātaka* III 147, IV 220 and *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* III 487, and *karamaragāhaṃ gahetvā* in *Jataka* I 355 and III 361 (the latter two cases are found in the commentary on a gāthā). If the interpretation of *karamarī-* suggested above is correct, which as far as the *Sattasaī* and *Vinaya* are concerned I believe to be the case, then these later Pāli instances would represent the secondary use of the word. It must be assumed then that the meaning 'prisoner, hostage' in Pāli is the result of an autonomous development within this tradition. That is to say, the presently available material would not seem to allow the assumption of crossfertilization between the literary Pkt tradition on the mainland of India and the Pāli tradition in Srī Laṅkā[11].

11. Because *karamara-*, 'hostage', is also found in Pāli it has been rightly pointed out to me by van Daalen that this word should not be discussed here in this article, which is concerned with ghost-words which have their origin specifically in the *Sattasaī*. My reason nevertheless to include the word in my discussion here is that precisely and only in the *Sattasaī* the word is found in contexts which allow one to question the correctness of the traditional meaning and to suggest an alternative.

Excursus on *sari-*, 'co-, fellow-' in M Pkt.

Above it has been argued that *sari-* in *sarivaṃdīṇaṃ* in gāthā 54 (in Bh, R, K, ψ, T and P; cp. *sarī-* in B and *sarisa-* in γ and S) has to be relegated to the variants in favour of *siri-* (found in Ma and Tp, on the one hand, and Bhuvanapāla's commentary, on the other). The same variation, between *siri-* and *sari-*, is found in gāthā 114, though here *siri-* is found only in Bhuvanapāla's commentary: *sirīśabdo mukhyaparyāyaḥ*. The reading *siri-* is, however, indirectly supported by the singular *-goviāe* in Ma (p. 201; reads *saria-*, which has been corrected into *sari-*), Ti (p. 129), T, as well as in Bh and R, beside *-goviāṇa* in the other mss. *Sirigoviāe*, 'the divine gopī', would refer to Rādhā (also mentioned, as Rādhikā, in gāthā 89. Gāthās 89 and 114, as well as 112, have been discussed by Hardy (*Viraha-Bhakti*, Delhi, 1983: 88-9 and 94, note 23. For 114 Hardy follows the standard text). Gāthā 114 thus reads:

> *ṇaccaṇasalāhaṇaṇiheṇa pāsaparisaṃṭhiā ṇiuṇagovī*
> *sirigoviāe cuṃvai kavolapaḍimāgaaṃ Kaṇhaṃ*,
>
> Placing herself next to (Rādhā), under the pretext of praising her dancing, the cowherdess shrewdly managed to kiss Krishna who was mirrored in the divine Gopī's cheek.

With this, the only instances known so far of *sari-* in M Pkt would have been eliminated. It should be noted that the two examples (quotations?) given in *Hc.* I 142, besides *saribaṃdīṇaṃ* discussed above, namely *sarivaṇṇo* (cp. Pāli *sarīvaṇṇa-*, which, however, has a variant *sarīravaṇṇa-* (?)) and *sarirūvo*, have not been identified so far, neither in M Pkt or in other texts. Also in Pāli the occurrence of *sari-* seems uncertain, as indicated in the *PTSD*, p. 698.

Even with these two instances in the *Sattasaī sari-* would seem rare. The only other instances are to be found in AMg where, however, it seems to be restricted to a certain stereotyped enumeration. This would be in accordance with the fact that *sari-*, from athematic *sadṛś-*, must have been an obsolete, non-productive word (Caillat 1980). The enumeration concerned is: *sarisaya-* (*sadṛśaka-*), *sarittaya-* (*sadṛk-tvaca-*), *sarivvaya-* (*sadṛg-vayas-*), and is found in, among other places, *Bhagavaī* [ed. Ladnun, 1982] I 373 (p. 63) and VII 198 (p. 306). In those instances where this list has been extended the following item has *sarisa-*: e.g. *Bhagavaī* I 373: *do, bhaṃte, purisā sarisayā sarittayā sarivvayā* sarisa*bhaṇḍamattovagaraṇā* ..., or IX 199: *sarisayaṃ sarittayaṃ sarivvayaṃ* sarisa*lāvaṇṇarūvajovvaṇaguṇovaveyaṃ* ... (p. 451). This would indicate that *sari-* was indeed not productive.

Therefore the occurrence of *sari-* in *sariṇāma(ga-)* in *Ṭhāṇa* 10, 59 (p. 804; prose, with a variant *sarisa-*, showing that there evidently was a need to clarify the form *sa-*

ri-) and 9, 22, 13 (p. 782; verse; *ṇihisariṇāmā*, '(the gods) having names corresponding to the(se) treasures', if I understand the passage correctly) should be treated with suspicion and could merely indicate that *sari-* within the Jaina canon has at some stage been accorded a second life.

If *sari-* was indeed a frozen, non-productive word, this would argue in 54 and 114 against the choice of *sari-* rather than *siri-* as the innovation. We should, however, reckon with the possibility that the change of *siri-*, which was no longer understood in the contexts, into *sari-* was in the first place based only on the vague association with, for instance, *sarisa-*. It is, in fact, doubtful if in the *Sattasaī* the link with *sari-*, from athematic *sadṛś-*, as found in AMg, was ever made at all; *sari-* was treated as a variant of *sarisa-*. In this connection one may also note that there is a difference in the use of *sari-* in the respective sources. The instances in AMg (and in *Hc.*, but these have not been retrieved) are all bahuvrīhi-compounds, while those in the *Sattasaī* look more like karmadhāraya-compounds, with *sari-* meaning 'co-, fellow-'.

IV CORRUPTIONS

§ 10 *phasala-*

The word *phasala-* is, at first sight, restricted to the dictionaries. See *Pāiyal.* 94: *phasalaṃ sabalaṃ sāraṃ* ..., '*phasala-* means "variegated in colour" (*śabala-, śāra-*)' and *Deśīn.* VI 87: *sāre thāsae a phasalaṃ*, '*phasala-* in the meaning "variegated" and "perfuming the body with fragrant unguents"'. See also VI 83: *phasaliaphasalāṇiā kayavihūse*, '*phasalia-* and *phasalāṇia-* in the meaning "decorated". The only other instance of the word known so far is as a variant in gāthā 312 in the *Sattasaī*. For *bhisiṇemi* (? ψ; cp. *bhasaṇemi* in γ, π and K) Tp reads *phasalemi* (cp. Ti, p. 21, *thasalemi*, with *th* for *ph*, which are easily confused in the Malayalam script), and Bh[a] *phasalimi*. This is most likely a corruption, through metathesis, of *phalasemi* found in Ma, pp. 110-1 (reads *-ami*, but Mādhavayajvamiśra has *phasalemi* = *pāṃsulāmi*, Ti *paṃsulayāmi*), and Bh[b] (*-imi*).

Phalase- may be derived from *sparśay-*, meaning 'to sprinkle, scatter (in case coloured powder) over somebody'. Compare Turner, *CDIAL* 13811, who refers, s.v. *sparśayate*, to Panjābi *parsṇā*, 'to touch, sprinkle ceremonially', and Nepāli *parsanu*, 'to sprinkle (sacrificial animal with water, wedding party with rice)'. For the form *phalase-*, beside Pāli *phasseti* and Pkt *phāsei*, see also Hindi *parasnā*, 'to touch', and Gujarati *parasvū*, 'id.'.

The variants *phaṃsaṇami* (R) and *phaṃsemi* (S) are different attempts to 'correct' *phasalemi*. The meaning of *bhasaṇemi* and *bhisiṇemi* ([*a*]*bhi-sineṃi*?) is not clear.

Both meanings, 'variegated' and 'perfuming', can be traced back directly to the occurrence of *phasalemi* in this particular gāthā. During Holī the girl is standing ready with powder in her hand, anxious to scatter it over the boy of her heart ('variegated'). She is, however, so excited that the powder in her hands turns into a mass of fragrant mud ('perfuming').

Apart from *phalasemi* in pāda c I would like to suggest to read for *harisūsuiāi* either *harisucchaliāe*, with Ma, Ti and Tp (all three read: *ucc-*) or *-ūsaliāe*, with Bh. *Ucchalia-* and *ūsalia-* would derive from a form **ut-śal-*, for which, see Turner, *CDIAL* 1843. *Ucchalia-* occurs also in gāthā 626. *Ūsalia-* is mentioned in *Pāiyal.* 79 among the synonyms of *romaṃcia-*, 'horripilated' (cp. *Deśīn.* I 141 and *Hc* IV 202).

> *ghettūṇa cuṇṇamuṭṭhiṃ harisucchaliāe/-ūsaliāe veamāṇāe*
> *phalasemi tti piaamaṃ hatthe gaṃdho(d)aaṃ jāaṃ,*
>
> The fistful of powder which the girl, trembling and jumping from excitement, held in her hand to throw at the boy of her heart, had turned into fragrant water.

§ 11 *vilia-*

Hemacandra distinguishes between *vilia-* from *vrīḍita-* (I 101: *pānīyādiṣv it*; compare *Deśīn.* VII 65: *lajjāi vilia ...*) and *vilia-* from *vyalīka-* (I 46: *iḥ svapnādau*; compare *Pāiyal.* 165: *viliyaṃ vippiyaṃ*). The first mentioned *vilia-* occurs as an adjective in *Bhagavaī* 15, 129: *pāsittā lajjie vilie viḍḍe saṇiyaṃ-saṇiyaṃ paccosakkai* (p. 688), and as a substantive in *Setubandha* I 6: *vevai jassa saviḍiaṃ* (v.l. *saviliaṃ*) ... *vāmaddhaṃ* (e.g. Kṛṣṇamiśra: *vrīlaiva vrīlitam, bhāve niṣṭhāpratyayaḥ ... savrīlaṃ bhūtvā ... vepate*, quoted in Handiqui 1976). The word has been connected with Tamil *vili(vu-)*; see Mayrhofer, *KEWA* III, p. 281, s.v. *vrīḍate*.

The second *vilia-* is still rarer. The only instance, apart from the one in the *Kumārapālacarita*, referred to in *PSM*, p. 799, s.v., seems to be *Sattasaī* 53, where it is a variant beside *vilaa-*, a form which may on final analysis well represent the original reading. Gāthā 53 in Weber's edition reads:

> *pemmassa virohiasaṃdhiassa paccakkhadiṭṭhaviliassa*
> *uaassa va tāviasīalassa viraso raso hoi,*
>
> Liebe, die (erst) aufgelöst, (dann wieder) vereinigt ist, nachdem sich (doch) Unliebes dabei offen gezeigt hat, schmeckt schaal, wie abgekochtes Wasser.

The reading *vilia-* has been based on the mss Bh, Tp, K, ψ, γ (*vijiassa*) and P (*vibhiassa*). In K, G, P, S and Bh is found the gloss *vyalīka-*). The mss T, S, R and Ma (pp. 44-5) have, instead, *vilaassa* (Ma *vilaaassa*, following *uaassa* is missing). Compare T, π and ξ: *pratyakṣadṛṣṭavilayasya*. *Vilia-* and *vilaa-* are related through the writing of *i* for *(y)a* (see *ISt.*, p. 3). Of these two readings *vilaa-*, 'dissolution, erosion', seems to make much better sense here than *vilia-*, 'false things' (*vyalīka-*): 'in the course of which visible evidence has been given of its (this affection's) dissolution or erosion'. The derivation of *vilia-* from *vyalīka-* in *Hc.* I 46 and its translation with *vipriya-* in the *Pāiyal.* would seem to be the result of attempts to give a sense to the word in this particular instance.

§ 12 *pahulla-* and *payalla-*

Hc. IV 117 includes a word *pahalla-* among the ādeśas for *ghūrṇ-*, 'to be agitated, to shake'. Apart from some instances in the Jaina Carita literature, referred to in *PSM*, p. 581, s.v., *pahalla-* is known only as a variant for *paiṇṇa-* in *Sattasaī* 78:

> *bharimo se gahiāharadhuasisapaholirālaāuliaṃ*
> *vaaṇaṃ parimalataraliabhamarāvalipaiṇṇakamalaṃ va.*

Pahalla- is found in Bh (Bh[a], Bh[b] having *yahalla-*). Apart from *paiṇṇa-* and *pahalla-* yet several more variants are found. In fact it seems possible to present all available variants for this passage in a series of consecutive corruptions, with *pahulla-* (T) at the one end and *paiṇṇa* (γ, ψ, K, P) at the other. In doing so we may indeed have to start from *pahulla-* in T, meaning 'in full bloom', which is supported by *paphulla-* in Tp and *papphula-* in Ti (p. 232; for *papphul(l)a-*, see Coulson, *Mālatīmādhava*, p. 242, according to whom the gemination of the *ph* is due to analogy with *utphulla-*). It is possible to explain *pahalla-* as a corruption of this *pahulla-*. The next corruption was of this *pahalla-* into *payalla-*, for which, cp. *yahalla-* in Bh[b] and *paala-* in S. Note also *Pāiyal* 186: *raṃkholiraṃ paholiraṃ uvvellaṃ pasariyaṃ* payallaṃ *ca*. Next *pa(y)alla-* has come to be written as *pailla-* (with *i* for *(y)a*), for which, see *pailla-* in R. Finally, *paiṇṇa-* for *pailla-* can be explained from the similarity in (Jaina) Nāgarī of the ligatures for *ṇṇ* and *ll*.

For the original reading the choice would basically be between *pahulla-* and *pahalla-*, as it is difficult to see how *paiṇṇa-* could have become *pa-h-alla-*, as suggested by Weber (*ISt.*, ad gāthā 80). Given the fact that the South Indian branches have generally preserved a more authentic text than the North Indian ones, and in the absence of other early instances of *pahalla-*, it would be illogical, or at least uneconomical, to assume that *pahalla-* represents the original reading and that *pahulla-* is the corruption (or emendation). The conclusion then is that as far as the

Sattasaī is concerned *pahalla-* is just a corruption. *Sattasaī* 78, with *pahulla-* for *paiṇṇa-*, may be translated in the following way:

> I (still) think of her bewildered face with locks of hair dangling around it due to the shaking of her head as I pressed my lips on hers; it was like a full blown (*pahulla-*) lotus with lines of bees moving restlessly around it attracted by the fragrance.

What has been concluded above regarding *pahalla-* would equally well apply to *payalla-* found in *Pāiyal.* 186: *raṃkholiraṃ paholiram uvvellaṃ pasariyaṃ payallaṃ ca* (from there *Hc.* IV 77: *prasareḥ payallovellau*). For one thing, the latter word is equally rare and late (for instances, see *PSM*, p. 544, s.v.). Furthermore, the two words are virtually synonyms, being found beside *ghola-* and *pa(g)holira-*, respectively (this despite *Hc.* IV 77, which is due to an arbitrary breaking up of the one line found in the *Pāiyal.*). If *payalla-* is indeed likewise to be traced back to *Sattasaī* 78, it is interesting to note that Hemacandra used a ms that was at this particular point more conservative than the one used by his predecessor Dhanapāla, as *payalla-* in the *Pāiyal.* is a more advanced corruption than *pahalla-* in *Hc.*

§ 13 *riddha-*

Deśīn. VII 6 mentions a word *riddha-* meaning 'cooked' or 'ripe' (*pikka-*, i.e. *pakva-*). The only known instance of the word is as a variant in *Sattasaī* 316:

> *bhuṃjasu jaṃ sāhīṇaṃ katto loṇaṃ kugāmariddhammi*
> *suhaa saloṇeṇa vi kiṃ teṇa siṇeho jahiṃ ṇa tthi.*

Riddhammi is peculiar to the mss γ, ψ and K of the Vulgata-recension. The other variants available are: *raddhammi* in Bh and S (cp. *[ra]ṭṭammi* in R), *sitthammi* in Ti (p. 22) and Tp, *sitvammi* in Ma (p. 111), and *racchammi* in T. Mādhavayajvamiśra in Ma has *siddhe pakve laddhe ca* (cp. χ: *siddhe*), as if the text reads *siddhammi*.

Overseeing all these variants it is not unlikely that *riddha-* in γ, ψ and K is the result of the contamination of *raddha-* (Bh, R? and S) and *siddha-* (χ), which are both regular Skt words. Similarly, *raccha-* (i.e. *rattha-*) in T shows contamination of *sittha-* and *raddha-* (on the contaminated state of T, see Tieken (1983: 61ff.).

A different question concerns the reconstruction of the original text. In this connection I venture to question the originality of the pun in the first line introduced by *raddha-* (*raddha-* meaning 'cooked' (*raddha-*) and 'attained' (*rāddha-*)) and *siddha-* (see Mādhavayajvamiśra, quoted above). It gives away the point of the second line. In any case, *sittha-* of Ti and Tp (and Ma), i.e. Skt *siktha-*, meaning 'a lump of plain boiled rice', i.e. with no additions such as salt and ghee, seems to provide an interesting alternative, well worth considering as the original reading.

The gāthā, with *sitthammi* and with, instead of *suhaa, ahava* (with K, T, Ma, Ti, Tp and χ), may be translated as follows:

> Enjoy what is available. How can one expect salt in a poor man's meal of plain boiled rice? Or else, what is the use of something with salt (a woman who is lovely) if there is no oil (affection) in it?

§ 14 *dillipdilliā-*

The word *dillipdilliā-* is mentioned in *Pāiyal.* 58 and *Deśīn.* V 40, as a synonym of *bālā-*, 'little girl'. The word is rare. Apart from one occurrence in the *Sattasaī*, gāthā 741, it is only known from the *Mahāpurāṇam* and the *Nāyakumāracarita*, both by Puṣpadanta (Shriyan 1969: 260), which instances may be ignored as independent evidence. The exact reading of the word in gāthā 741 is, however, uncertain:

> *jaï vi hu dillipdilliā taha vi hu mā putti ṇaggiā bhamasu*
> *cheā ṇaarajuāṇo māṃ dhūāi lakkhaṃti.*

For *dillipdilliā*, which Weber adopted on the authority of the dictionaries, the following variants have been noted: *vipdilliā* χ, *maṇḍaṃkillā* S, *dillidilliā* T, *dilaṃdiliā* T^c, *dullīā* W, *duddalīā* Ma (pp. 202-3) and *diṇṇuṃdalīā* (or: *diṇṇuddalīā*) in Tp. The very last variant would seem important here. Mādhavayajvamiśra in Ma (loc. cit.) has *diṇṇa*(sic)*ddalīā kṛtāndolikā undaliketi bālikākrīḍāviśeṣaḥ. Diṇṇuṃdalīā* (or *diṇṇ-uddalīā*) is apparently to be analysed as *diṇṇa-* + *uṃdalīā-*.

The existence of the word *uṃdalīā-* as an independent word would be proved by its occurrence, again as a variant, in gāthā 196, in a context which at first sight one would not connect with gāthā 741. Gāthā 196 in Weber's edition reads:

> *upphullīāi khelau mā ṇaṃ vāreha hou parikhāṇa*
> *mā jahaṇabhāragarui purisāaṃtī kilimmihai.*

For *upphullīāi* (cp. *uppuliāi* γ, *upphalliāi* ψ, *ḍa(= u)phullīāi* S, *papphulliāe* R and *phuḍḍillīyāe* Bh), both Tp and Ti (p. 180) have *uṃdaliae* (*udd-*) (cp. *maṃdulliāe* T, *muḍulliāe* T^m). According to the commentator Mādhavayajvamiśra *uṃdaliā-* is the South Indian name of, again, a kind of children's game: *dramilair uddalir iti yā krīḍa vyapadiśyate soddalikā ... utkuñcitobhayajānukāsnayā sajaghanotkampam rabhasaikaikapādotsāraṇena nivartanīyatvād uddalikāyāḥ puruṣāyitopabhogitvam iti mantavyam ...* (Ti, loc. cit.).

The word *upphulliā-*, corresponding to *utphullaka-*, would denote a particular position of the woman during love-making (Schmidt 1922: 530) resembling that of squatting, though with the woman lying on her back. The erotic connotation of the word *utphullaka-/upphulliā-*, 'wide open', is obvious, which makes it an unlikely name for a children's game as well. It is not unlikely that the mss Tp and Ti have with *uṃdaliā-*, here as well as in 741, retained the original reading. Unfortunately I have been unable so far to trace the word in any of the South Indian languages. For the occurrence of regional words in the *Sattasaī*, see § 6, s.v. *tuppa-*.

Before giving a translation of 196, I would like to suggest yet one other emendation, namely for *parikhāmā*, which has no manuscript support at all but is Weber's own Pkt. Leaving aside *pariūḍhā* (γ, ψ, P *-vūḍhā*, from *parivah-*), which hardly makes sense here, I suggest to read *pariatthā* (*paryastā*, 'sitting on hams and heels'), which is based on *paḍihatthā* in Bh (*paṭvī* ?), on the one hand, and on *pariacco* in T and *pariajjhā* in Tp and Ti, on the other (*bhavatu paricayaḥ* T, *bhavatu paricitā* chāyā in Ti, *bho upari āryā* in Mādhavayajvamiśra's commentary. *Pariajjhā* < *pariaṃjhā* = the South Indian pronunciation of *pariaṃchā* < *pariacchā*, which would be an error, through Jaina Nāgarī, for *pariatthā*. *Pariacco* in T would go back to the intermediate form *pariaṃchā/pariacchā*). Gāthā 196, reconstructed in this way, would read:

> *uṃdaliāe khelau mā ṇaṃ vāreha hou pariatthā*
> *mā jahaṇabhāragaruī purisāaṃtī kilimmihai,*
>
> Let her amuse herself with the *uṃdaliā*-game. Do not stop her but let her sit on her hams and heels, so that (later), sitting on top of her husband, she will not tire under the heavy burden of her thighs.

Gāthā 741 should read, with *diṇṇuṃdaliā* of Tp and with *gāma-* of most mss instead of *ṇaara-*:

> *jai vi hu diṇṇuṃdaliā taha vi hu mā putti ṇaggiā bhamasu*
> *cheā gāmajuāṇo māaṃ dhūāi lakkhaṃti.*

A young girl is told no longer to walk around naked stirring the imagination of the boys of the village. But at the same time she is still allowed to play the game of *uṃdaliā-*, which stirs their imagination even more!

> Even though you are still allowed (*diṇṇa-*) to play the game *uṃdaliā-* you should no longer go walking around naked, for the dirty-minded youths of the village see the mother in the daughter.

Dillinḍiliā- may be explained as a corruption of *diṇṇuṃdaliā-*, though it will not be possible to reconstruct the process in all its details. This applies in particular to the changes in the quality of the vowels, on which the available sources show no unanimity anyhow. The corruption is then reduced to the fairly common misreading of *ṇṇ* as *ll*, for other instances of which, see above, s.v. *pahalla-* (§ 12), and *ISt.*, p. 3.

§ 15 *uppaṃka-*

Among the synonyms of *samūha-*, 'mass', *Pāiyal.* 18-19 includes a word *uppaṃka-*. This word is also found in *Desīn.* 1 130: *paṅkocchehasamūhesu bahalae taha ya uppaṃko*. The only instances of the word are *Sattasaī* 586 and *Gauḍavaho* 173, 280 and 552. *Sattasaī* 586 in Weber's edition reads:

> *ṇavapallavaṃ visaṃṇā paḍiā pecchaṃti cūarukkhassa*
> *kāmassa lohiuppaṃgaṇāaṃ hatthabhallaṃ va.*

(For *uppaṃga-*, which has been based on Gaṅgādhara's Skt commentary (*uppaṃga-śabdaḥ deśyāṃ samūhavacanaḥ*), one clearly has to read *uppaṃka-*, following the mss Bh, R (*-ṃki*), Ma (pp. 219-20), Ti (p. 151) and Tp.) Weber's translation runs as follows:

> Bestürzt erblicken die Wandersleute den frischen Spross des Mango-Baumes, gleichsam einen mit einer Menge Blut gerötheten Handpfeil des Kāma.

Suru's translation of *Gauḍavaho* 173:

> *amararamaṇiviluvvantacāmaruppaṅkapavaṇalolasiho*
> *bhayaveviro vva alliyai kahavi vibuhāhivaṃ jalaṇo,*

is:

> The fire approaches the Lord of Gods, trembling in fear, as it were, its flames fluttering with the breeze set in motion by the multitude of chowries being waved (over Indra) by the heavenly women.

In both *Gauḍavaho* 280 and 552 is found the combination *kesaruppaṃka-*, referring to the manes of the horse of the sun's chariot and of lions respectively.

In the *Sattasaī* there is, however, some confusion as to the exact reading of the text. Thus, apart from *uppaṃga-*, referred to above, and *oha-* (γ; cp. *lohitaugha-* in π), which need no further discussion here, we have *uppakkha-* in T (chāyā: *utpakṣi-*, for which, compare *uppaṃki-* in R), *puṃkhaṃ* in S (that is, *lohapuṃkhaṃ kharāia-*; chāyā: *lohapuṃkhaṃ tīkṣṇīkṛtam*), and *upphukhaṃ* in ψ. If of these three *puṃkha-* (S; i.e. Skt *puṅka-*, 'the feathered part of an arrow') and *upphukha-* (ψ; *ut-puṅkha-*?) are left out of consideration, as they are probably only more advanced corruptions of *uppakkha-* (*ut-pakṣa-*), we are still left with two variants, namely *uppaṃka-* and *uppakkha-*.

On the basis of the stemma we would have to opt for *uppaṃka-* as the original reading, but upon considering the two words more closely one may well ask if in this case such a decision may indeed be based on the stemma. For one thing, neither *uppaṃka-* nor *uppakkha-* is known from Skt or has cognates in NIA. Each word, however, does have every appearance of a regular Skt word. Thus, *uppakkha-* could, and has been, analysed as *ut-pakṣa-*, with *pakṣa-*, 'feather of an arrow', and *uppaṃka-* as *ut-paṅka-*, with *paṅka-*, 'mud'. See in this connection *Deśīn.* I 130: *paṅkoccheha-* (Hemacandra in his own commentary: '*paṅka-* and *ucchraya-*'), which I would like to emend into *paṅkocchea-*, 'a superabundance (*utseka-*) of mud' (the *h* in *uccheha-* possibly from the interference of *samūha-*). The same association is found in the commentary by Mādhavayajvamiśra (Ma, pp. 219-20), who 'translates' *uppaṃka-* without any further comment with *utpaṅka-*. It is clear that both etymologies, whatever they are worth, can only have arisen in a context as seen in the gāthā under discussion, where *uppaṃka-/uppakkha-* quantifies blood, or, alternatively, describes an arrow. *Uppaṃka-* in the *Gauḍavaho* quantifies fans and manes, in which case the association with mud, or feathers, would make no sense.

Thus, we are left with two equally rare words, whose only support is some fanciful etymology, geared to only this specific context. As such the one word is not intrinsically better than the other, and it is difficult to see why *uppaṃka-* would have been emended into *uppakkha-* or vice versa. As a result the stemma cannot really be relied upon in order to decide which of the two is the original.

It might of course be argued that *uppaṃka-* in gāthā 586 had somehow become corrupted and that this corruption has subsequently been emended into *uppakkha-* (or *uppuṃkha-* for that matter). Though this possibility cannot be ruled out, it does upset the balance between these two equally rare and equally fanciful words. The only argument in favour of this solution would be the occurrence of the word *uppaṃka-* in the *Gauḍavaho*, which, if only retrospectively, provides evidence of its existence.

However, as I will try to show in the next section, on the word *iharā*, the evidence of the *Gauḍavaho* in such cases is to be treated with suspicion. Therefore I will try to explore yet another possibility, namely that both *uppaṃka-* and *uppakkha-* are, each in their own way, emendations of a misunderstood third word 'x'.

As the original word must have been close in form to both *uppaṃka-* and *uppakkha-* I venture to suggest that the text originally read *uppakka-*, i.e. the past participle of *utpac-*. *Uppakka-*, which is not otherwise found in literary Pkt, nor is common in Skt[12], is well attested for Pāli, meaning 'dried up, shrivelled up' (see *CPD*, p. 515 s.v.; see also Turner *CDIAL* 1807 and 1808).

Lohiuppaṃkarāiaṃ, consisting of three adjectives or participles, is to be taken as a dvandva, which would describe step by step the changes undergone by an arrow which had been shot by Kāma in last year's spring and had been left to lie; it had been red first with blood (*lohia-*), had subsequently dried up (*uppakka-*), and been blackened by the sun (*rāia-*; for the particular meaning of *rāia-*, see Turner, *CDIAL* 10583, in particular Marāṭhī *rāpṇẽ*, 'to blacken through contact with air').

While the type of compound seems quite exceptional — it is not discussed in the available grammars (*Altindische Grammatik*, Renou, Whitney et al.) — something like it has been described by Turner (1913: § 5b). Moreover, the 'historical' order of the members in the compound is typical of the dvandva; see *Altindische Grammatik* II 1, § 71, and Tieken (1983: 247-8), where *rairaha-sihara-dhaa-* is discussed. Another, but in the present context less likely, analysis is to take the compound as an example of the disjunctive type discussed in *Altindische Grammatik* II 1, § 74a, which would give a translation like 'red at one place, dried up at another, and blackened at yet another'.

Before giving a translation of the gāthā I would like to discuss another compound occurring in it, namely *hatthabhalla-*. Weber translates it, rather automatically, with 'Handpfeil', whatever kind of arrow that may have been. Another possible translation is 'an arrow in the hand', but such compounds with *hasta-* are apparently very rare. *MW* has only one example, namely *hastakamala-*. Besides, it would not fit the situation, which would describe an old, discarded arrow. In this connection I should like to refer to a variant reading in Ma, *atthabhalla-* (but the chāyā has, again, *hastabhalla-*). This *atthabhalla-* would be a compound of the type *vaṇṇa-(g)ghaa(t)uppa-*, discussed above, § 6, which is to be analysed as 'a *bhalla-*, i.e. an *astra-*'. As such the compound should in particular be compared, and contrasted, to *acchabhalla-*, 'a *bhalla-*, i.e. an *ṛkṣa-*'.

As a result of the above discussion gāthā 586 should read:

12. The only instance of *utpakva-* in Skt would seem to be *MM* V 17c (p. 100): *utpakvasraṃsimāṃsaṃ*. See also note 3.

ṇavapallavaṃ visaṇṇā pahiā pecchaṃti cūarukkhassa
kāmassa lohiuppakkarāiaṃ atthabhallaṃ va,

Dejected, the travellers stare at the fresh frond on the mango-tree, as if it is an arrow of Kāma, which, once blood-red, had dried up and become black (in the sun).

The fresh fronds on the mango-tree, the first signs of spring, remind the travellers of the pain Kāma will inflict on those seperated from their lovers once spring is in full swing. Here the very first days of spring are represented as a period of transition, full of uncertain forebodings. For a similar situation may be considered the following verse quoted in the *Dhvanyāloka* (ed. Jagannāth Pāthak, Varanasi, 1965 p. 275):

sajjei (reads *sajjehi*) *surahimāso ṇa dāva appei juvaijaṇalakkhamuhe*
ahiṇavasahaāramuhe ṇavapallavapattale aṇaṅgassa sare,

The fragrant month (spring) prepares but does not yet give to the god of love his arrows, whose points have young people for their targets, whose tips are fresh mango (flowers?) and whose feathers are new fronds.

See also *Subhāṣitaratnakośa* 166:

garbhagranthiṣu vīnudhāṃ sumanaso madhye'ṅkuraṃ pallavā
vāñchāmātraparigrahaḥ pikavadhūkaṇṭhodare pañcamaḥ;
kiṃ ca trīṇi jaganti jiṣṇu divasair dvitrair manojanmano
devasyāpi cirojjhitaṃ yadi bhaved abhyāsavaśyaṃ dhanuḥ,

The flowers of the vine are still in bud[;] the leaves within the sprout; the note of love within the cuckoo's throat still dwells in expectation. If Love would take in hand his long-left bow two days of practice would win him all the world. (Trsl. Ingalls)

It will be clear that the explanation of *uppaṃka-* as an occasional form created to serve as an emendation for *uppakka-* cannot be repeated for the instances in the *Gauḍavaho*. There we have to do with *uppaṃka-*, 'mass, multitude', as it is also found in the indigenous dictionaries. If *uppaṃka-* in the *Gauḍavaho* is indeed a ghost-word from the *Sattasaī* the question then is which would have been Vākpati's source. The available dictionaries are all later than Vākpati, the author of the *Gauḍavaho*, so that

they cannot have been that author's source. Hemacandra, in his *Deśīn.*, does occasionally refer to a source (Shriyan 1969: 14-5), but apart from the fact that it is not clear whether in such cases it concerns literary texts, commentaries or dictionaries, we know still less about the dates of these works. In any case, the differences between the context in which the word is found in the *Sattasaī* and the ones in the *Gauḍavaho* would almost certainly preclude the possibility that Vākpati drew the word directly from the *Sattasaī*. We have to assume the existence of an intermediate source in which the word had been completely de-contextualised. In the introduction I have already suggested that the argument may be turned around and that the very existence of a text like the *Gauḍavaho* already assumes some kind of scholastic activity regarding M Pkt. A more decisive argument in this context might be, however, that *uppaṃka-* is not the only word of its kind in the *Gauḍavaho*. Another example would be provided by the word *iharā*, which will be discussed in the next section.

§ 16 *iharā*

Hc. II 212 and *Pāiyal.* 241 mention a word *iharā* representing Skt *itarathā* (*Pāiyal.*: *annaha* = *anyathā*). The word is rare, the only two clear instances being *Gauḍavaho* 84 and 960. *Gauḍavaho* 84:

kālaguṇā paḍhamakaīhiṃ bhamiyam apariggahesu maggesu
iharā maīhiṃ hīranti dukkaraṃ ke vi kāṇaṃ pi,

Because they were the very first (*kālaguṇā*) the original poets wandered along untrodden paths (lacked examples to emulate). On the other hand, by the sheer superiority of their intellect some were drawn towards something more difficult than others.

Gauḍavaho 960:

thovāgayadosa cciya vavahāravahammi honti sappurisā
iharā ṇīsāmaṇṇehiṃ tehiṃ kaha saṃgayaṃ hoi,

In daily contacts good men do show minor faults, but how else can there be a mingling with such superior beings?

(or, with the v.l. *iyarāṇaṃ asāmaṇṇehi(ṃ)*: 'how else can there be a mingling of the others (less superior beings) with these uncommon men?')

The derivation of *iharā* has really not been decided. Weber (*Ed.* ad 711) and Pischel (1900: §§ 212 and 354) derive *iharā* from *itarathā*, which, however, involves both metathesis and the loss of a syllable. An alternative has been suggested by Goldschmidt in a note to his translation of the word *iarā* occurring in *Setubandha* XI 26. According to him *iharā* would be this *iarā* showing a parasitic *h* borrowed from *itarathā/iarahā*. The idea apparently was that *iarā*, occurring there and in *Sattasaī* 711, and supposedly an adverb (**itarāt*), was insufficiently marked as such. It should be noted that Goldschmidt subsequently does not venture an opinion on the question whether *iharā* is then still to be taken as a 'real' word or, rather, is a ghost-word.

In this connection the two instances of *iarā* should be considered more closely first. While the commentaries on *Sattasaī* 711[13] and *Setubandha* XI 26[14] almost unanimously for *iarā* have *itarathā*, in which they have been followed by the modern editors and translators, nothing would prevent us from taking it instead as the nominative singular of the feminine of *itara-*, meaning '(being in) the other (situation)'[15]. Thus, *Sattasaī* 711:

> *jaṃ mucchiāi ṇa suo kalaṃvagaṃdheṇa taṃ guṇe paḍiaṃ*
> *iarā gajjiasaddo jīeṇa viṇā ṇa volaṃto,*
>
> That she has fainted from the fragrance of the *kadamba*-flower and did not hear the sound of the thunder, was her luck. *If she had been in the other situation* (i.e. had not fainted) the thunder would not have passed without taking away her life;

and *Setubandha* XI 26:

> *kaha virahappaḍiūlā hohii samuhahiaā paimmi uvagae*
> *ṇecchai iarā vi sasiṃ kiṃ uṇa diṭṭhammi diṇaarammi kamaliṇī,*
>
> How will she (Sītā), who was hostile to me (Rāvaṇa) in her husband's absence, be friendly to me when reunited with him? Even *if in normal circumstances* the day lotus has no love to waste on the moon, how much less when the sun has arisen.

13. *itarathā* in π, χ, Sādhāraṇadeva, Bhuvanapāla and Mādhavayajvamiśra, the latter only available in Ti (p. 62), as in Ma (p. 145) the relevant part of the commentary is not found.

14. *itarathāpi* in Mādhavayajvamiśra and Rāmadāsa, as quoted by Handiqui 1976.

15. Cp. Kulanātha and Kṛṣṇavipra, who ad *Setubandha* XI 26 have *itarāpi*. Unfortunately the rest of their commentaries has not been excerpted by Handiqui (1976).

While the interpretation of *iarā* as an adverb in these two instances is in itself unnecessary, it is, all formal considerations apart, not illogical or without sense. In fact, for the sense of the two verses it does not make a great difference. The next problem must have been that beside *itarathā*, *iarā* does not look like an adverb. This might explain the variant *iharā* in *Sattasaī* 711 in mss Bh and R (cp. *iaraha* in S).

For the occurrence of this variant there are, as far as I can see, two possible explanations. In the one *iarā* was 'replaced' by *iharā*, in the other (*'itara-'*) *iarā* was 'corrected' into *iharā* under the influence of *itarathā*. In the latter case we are witnesses here to the very birth of a ghost-word *iharā*. Though the first possibility cannot be ruled out entirely the second would account better for the, to all intents and purposes, strange result, *iharā*, with a totally misplaced *h*, which is reminiscent of *iha*, 'now', rather than of *itara-* (see Haripāla ad *Gauḍavaho* 84: *iharā idānīṃ ... idānīṃtanaiḥ kavibhiḥ ...*). It is tempting to imagine a pandit desperate to insert an *h*, which he finally managed to do in the only available hiatus in the word.

It is clear that this explanation of the origin of *iharā* cannot be repeated in the two contexts in the *Gauḍavaho*, in which there is no place for a nom. sg. of the feminine. In fact, the number of such instances is predictably small. The instances of *iharā* in the *Gauḍavaho* would lead us back then directly or indirectly, i.e. via a predecessor of Dhanapāla and Hemacandra, to the Jaina recension of the *Sattasaī* (or to a ms now lost of the *Setubandha*). In this respect the case of *iharā* in the *Gauḍavaho* would be identical to the one of *uppaṃka-* discussed in the preceding section.

V CONCLUDING REMARKS

Above a number of words have been discussed from the *Sattasaī*, which, because they were misunderstood or because their derivation from Skt was lost sight of, were included in the *Pāiyal.*, *Deśīn.* and/or Hemacandra's Pkt grammar as so-called typical Pkt words. The words investigated are peculiar to these three works. Thus, of the ādeśas (*ṇivvara-*, *saccavia-*, *karaṃja-*, *ṇaḍa-* and *pahalla-*) none is found in the grammars collated by Grierson (1929). On the other hand, all the words occurring in *Hc.* are found in Trivikrama's grammar as well, that is, as far as could be ascertained through the *Saḍbhāṣācandrikā*. An exception is *ṇivvara-* = *chid-*, which has not been retrieved in this treatise (see note 4). (The distribution of the words investigated in the dictionaries and grammars is shown in Chart II). The concern with the text of the *Sattasaī* as seen in the case of Dhanapāla and Hemacandra thus appears to be quite

unique. Later grammarians than Hemacandra seem to have been more introvert and more concerned with the grammatical tradition itself.

The *Pāiyal.*, *Deśīn.* and *Hc.* provide interesting evidence of the complicated textual history of the *Sattasaī*. Dhanapāla seems to show a familiarity in particular with the so-called Jaina recension. Note in this connection the word *iharā*, which appears to be an isolated variant in Bh and R, in the sense that it has not itself subsequently led to further variants in other branches, as in the case of *pahalla-* or *phusala-*.

The words discussed above do not allow such a conclusion for Hemacandra's Pkt grammar, which in any case is a compilation, pieced together from existing material from various and different types of sources. However, among the quotations from the *Sattasaī* given in the commentary, which supposedly was written by Hemacandra himself, one can be traced back specifically to, again, the Jaina recension[16]. Thus, in III 105, which enumerates the various forms of *aham*, Hemacandra quotes as an example of *ammi* the line *unnama na ammi kuviā* (*unnama nāhaṃ kupitā*). This line has been identified with the first pāda of *Sattasaī* 184. The text of the *Sattasaī*, however, shows a great number of variants here, in particular for the first word of the

16. The following list of quotations from the *Sattasaī* found in Hemacandra's grammar has been drawn up after only a cursory reading of the grammar and thus makes no claim to being exhaustive. On the other hand, the list also includes gāthās found in the seventh appendix in Weber's *Ed.* (pp. 509-13), which contains M Pkt gāthās gathered from a number of poetical works left over after a comparison of such material with the *Sattasaī* (the numbers above 965).

I 38	*omālayaṃ vahai* 194	196	*de pasia tāva suṇulari* 466
82	*bāhasalilapavaheṇa ullei* 541	id.	*de ā pasia niattasu* 968 (cp. 466)
102	*juṇṇasurā* 197	197	*huṃ sāhasu sabbhāvaṃ* 453
142	*saribaṃdiṇaṃ* 54	id.	*huṃ nillajja samosara* 946
144	*dariasīheṇa* 175 (also in II 96)	198	*eaṃ khu hasai* 6
II 80	*sikkhaṃtu vodrahio* 392	204	*avvo dukkarayūraya* 273
96	*dariasīheṇa* 175 (also in I 144)	id.	*avvo na jāmi chittaṃ* 821
97	*baddha(p)hato* 92	205	*ai diara kiṃ na pecchasi* 97
138	*avahoāsaṃ* 684	211	*ua niccalanipphaṃdā* 4
168	*saṃiaṃ avagūḍho* 583	216	*kiṇo dhuvasi* 67
177	*āma bahalā vaṇoli* 579	217	*aṇukūlaṃ vottuṃ je* 524
186	*kallaṃ kira kharahiao* 46	III 26	*jāiṃ vayaṇāiṃ* 651
id.	*tassa ira* 499	41	*ammo bhaṇāmi bhaṇie* 676
195	*māmi sarisakkharūṇa vi* 450	80	*kiṃ kiṃ te paḍihāi* 15
id.	*paṇavaha māṇassa halā* 893	105	*ajja mmi hāsiā māmi teṇa* 264
id.	*sahi crisi ccia gai* 10	id.	*unnama na ammi kuviā* 184

Admittedly, some 'quotations' are very short; e.g. *tassa ira* (II 186), but in this case the identification (with gāthā 499) is not in doubt. Less certain cases are, e.g., *juṇṇasurā* (I 102, gāthā 197) and *kiṇo dhuvasi* (II 216, gāthā 67). The last mentioned instance, *kiṇo dhuvasi*, if the identification is indeed correct, would be the only other quotation, beside *unnama na ammi kuviā*, which can be traced back to one particular recension, in casu, again, the Jaina recension. Gāthā 69 should read *vahasi* with γ, ψ, K, P and S. In Bh this has come to be mangled into *hasasi*. The intermediate form probably was *havasi*, judging by *huvasi* in R, of which *dhuvasi* may be an emendation.

Pāda[17]. Hemacandra's text corresponds most closely to the text found in ms Bh, which is the only one which has *unnama* as well. However, within the text tradition of the *Sattasaī unnama* is an isolated innovation. This will become clear from a closer consideration of the text of the gāthā and the available variants. In Weber's edition the gāthā reads as follows:

> *aṇṇua ṇāhaṃ kuviā uvaūhasu kiṃ muhā pasāesi*
> *tuha maṇṇusamuppāeṇa majjha māṇeṇa vi ṇa kajjaṃ.*

The reading *aṇṇua* (*ajñaka*) has been based on K and S, and on the commentaries Gaṅgādhara and χ (P has only *a*, and a gloss *akṛtajña*). The mss γ, ψ and R have *ujjua* (*ṛjuka*). As already indicated above Bh has *unnama* (i.e. *uṇṇama*; *uttiṣṭha*).

Whichever of these readings is adopted, the result remains somewhat curious: in the first line the woman says that she is not angry (*ṇāhaṃ kuviā*) but in the second line she blames her anger for being the source of her sulking mood (read: *maṇṇusamuppaṇṇeṇa*, with K, S[1], R, Bh, Ti (p. 179) and Tp). In this respect the reading found in Ti and Tp seems a distinct improvement. These two mss read *aṇṇamaṇāhaṃ kuviā* (Mādhavayajvamiśra: *anyamanaskā (a)ham kupitā*). The gāthā may be translated as follows:

> When I am angry I am possessed by a demon. Take me in your arms instead of talking to me in this conciliatory tone. *I* don't want this sulking! It has only arisen out of this anger about you.

In *unnama* (i.e. *uṇṇama*) and *aṇṇua* independent attempts may be recognized to 'emend' nonsensical *aṇṇama-*, which had remained after *-ṇā* was split off from *aṇṇamaṇā* and was taken with *(a)haṃ*: *aṇṇama ṇāhaṃ kuviā. Unnama* is an isolated variant, in the sense that the two other variants, *aṇṇua* and *ujjua*, cannot be traced back to it. The word is typical of the so-called Jaina recension as represented in Weber's material by Bh and R. That ms R has *ujjua* here, a reading otherwise typical of the Vulgata, may be explained with reference to the contaminated state of the ms, for which, see Tieken (1983: 56ff.).

From the occurrence of *iharā* in Vākpati's *Gauḍavaho* it might be concluded, albeit with some reservation (see above), that the Jaina recension already existed in the second half of the eighth century. This would mean that at that time the major splits in the transmissional history of the *Sattasaī* had already taken place, that is, in the

17. It should be noted that the form *ammi*, which this quotation was meant to illustrate, is not found in any of the available mss of the *Sattasaī*.

first place, the division into the Third South Indian recension, on the one hand, and the Jaina-cum-Vulgata, on the other, and, subsequently, the division of the latter into the Jaina and the Vulgata respectively. Compared to the evidence which had been available so far, namely a ms of the Jaina recension in the Kaiser Library in Kathmandu, dated 1221 A.D. (for which, see Tieken 1983: 80, note 8), we have gone back almost five hundred years.

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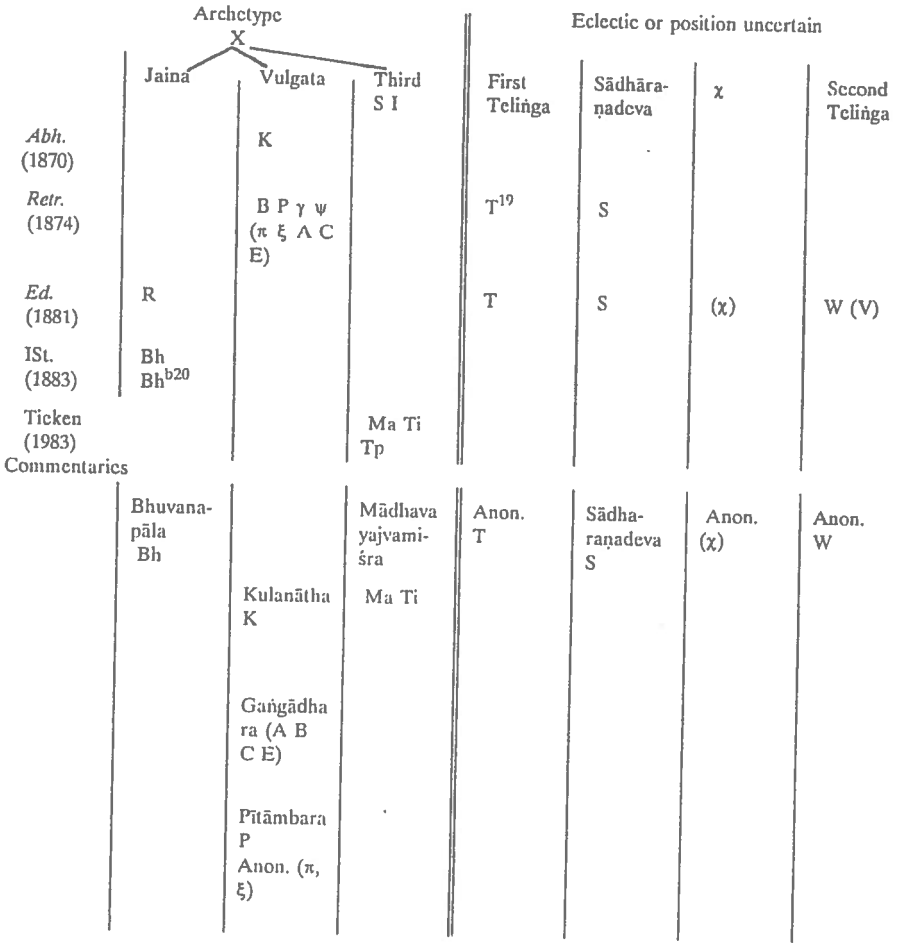
CHART I

Summary of the stemma[18]
(See Tieken 1983)



18. Sigla between brackets contain either only the Skt commentary, with or without a Pratīkā, or only the Chāyā.

19. T subsumes Weber's T^c (text) and T^γ (commentary).

20. Bh^b refers to the scraps of text quoted in Bhuvanapāla's commentary. Where a distinction is required Bh is styled Bh^a.

CHART II

tuppa-	233	V 22			
karamaṛi-	106	II 15			
hālāhala-	227	VIII 75			
uppaṃka-	18-9	I 130			
diliṃdiliā-	58	V 40			
phasala-	94	VI 83/7			
saccavia-	78	(VIII 17)[21]	IV 181	II 4, 153	p. 197
iharā	241		II 212	II 1, 72	p. 150
vilia-	165		I 46	I 2, 11	p. 58
payalla-	186		IV 77	III 1, 10	p. 209-10
ṇivvara-					
(duḥkhaṃ kathay-/muc-)			IV 3/92	III 1, 70	p. 215
(chid-)			IV 124	II 1, 67	—[22]
ṇaḍa-			IV 150	III 1, 82	
karaṃja-			IV 106	III 1, 49	p. 213
pahalla-			IV 117	II 4, 142	p. 207
haṇa-		VIII 59			
ḍuṃḍua-		IV 11			
riddha-		VI 6			

21. *Saccavia* = *abhipreta*.

22. See note 4.

GĀTHĀS DISCUSSED

Sattasaī			
53	§ 11	Gauḍavaho	
54	§ 9	84	§ 16
55	§ 9	960	§ 16
62	§ 4		
77	§ 2	Setubandha	
78	§ 12	XI 26	§ 16
114	§ 9		
121	§ 5		
129	§ 7		
167	§ 5		
172	§ 3		
184	Concl. remarks		
196	§ 14		
204	§ 1		
255	§ 1		
312	§ 10		
316	§ 13		
478	§ 8		
528	§ 9		
539	§ 8		
554	§ 5		
586	§ 15		
711	§ 16		
715	§ 7		
741	§ 14		
809	§ 8		

RÉSUMÉ

Pour expliquer les nombreux mots rares qui émaillent la *Sattasaī* de Hāla, on a eu communément recours aux œuvres de lexicographes et grammairiens, en fait nettement postérieurs, la *Pāialacchī* de Dhanapāla (X^{e} s.), la grammaire prakrite et la *Deśīnāmamālā* de Hemacandra (1088-1172) — donc, à des travaux de synthèse que dix siècles au moins séparent de la date de composition des gāthā de cette célèbre anthologie (voir le tableau II). La tradition pouvait donc s'être considérablement altérée. De fait, bien des interprétations proposées au X^{e}-XI^{e} s. (et dans les commentaires qui en dérivent) paraissent suggérées par le contexte plutôt que par une authentique tradition linguistique. Il vaut donc la peine de procéder à un réexamen méthodique de la tradition manuscrite de la *Sattasaī*: aux données dispersées dans les diverses publications d'A. Weber, s'ajoutent désormais celles qui ont été recueillies dans H. TIEKEN, *Hāla's Sattasaī*. Leiden, 1983 (cf. section II): un nouveau stemma peut ainsi être établi (voir le tableau I). Il est dès lors souhaitable de reprendre sur de nouvelles bases l'étude de termes et de gāthā obscurs, soit qu'il aient été mécompris (§§ 1-9) soit qu'ils aient été corrompus (§§ 10-16). Cette investigation aura, éventuellement, quelque incidence sur la connaissance du vocabulaire prakrit des *Gauḍavaho* et *Setubandha*.